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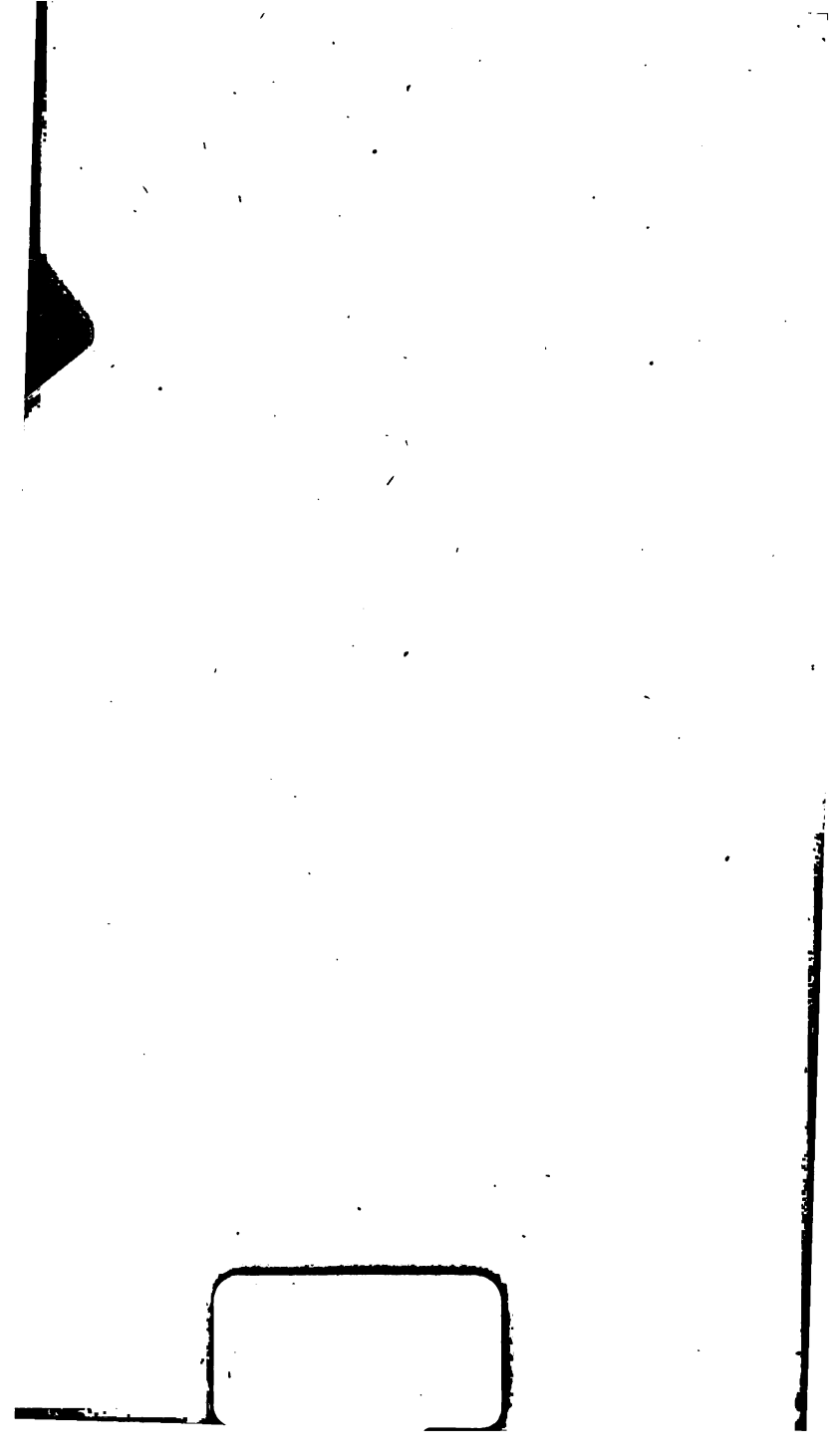
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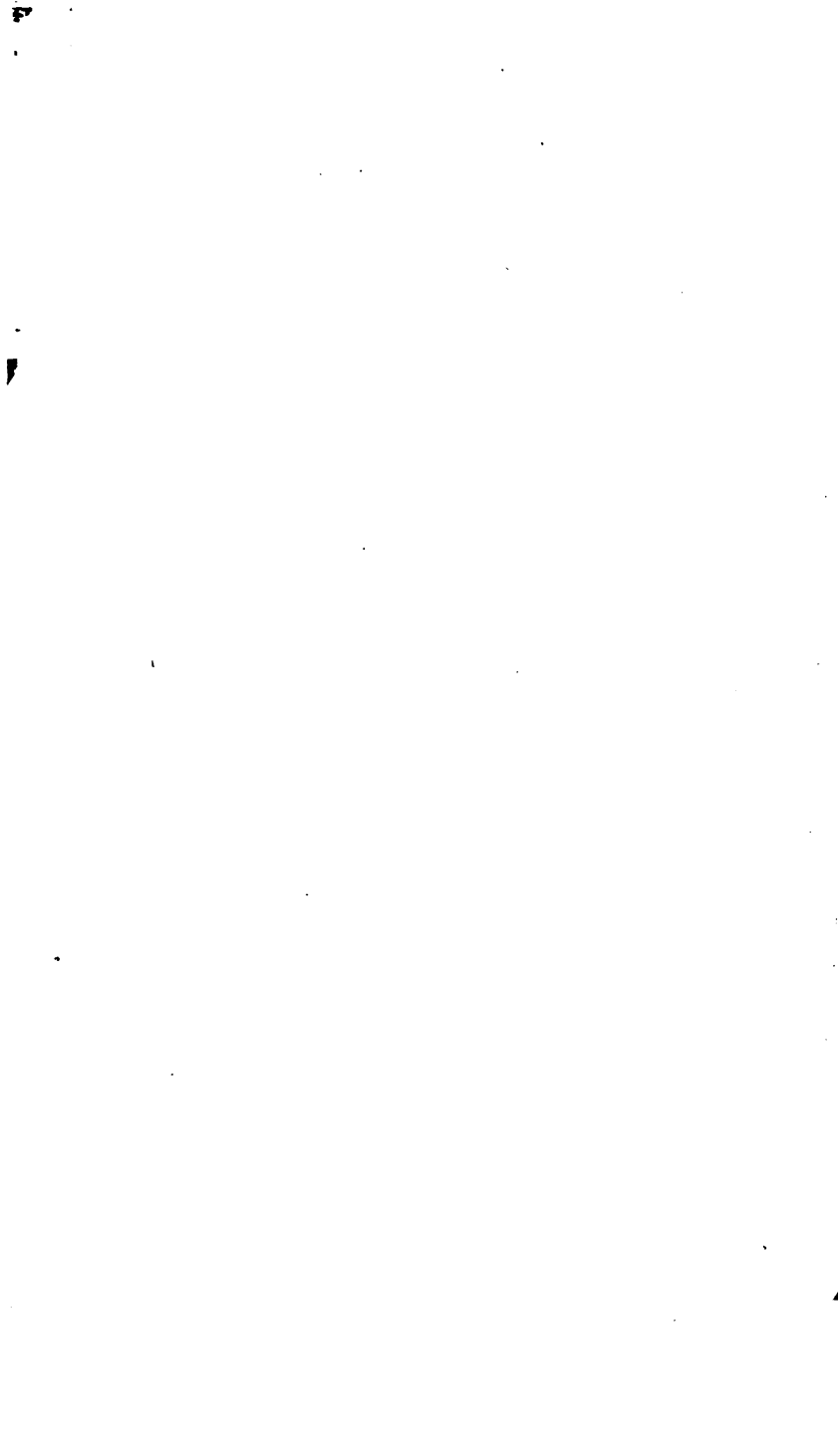
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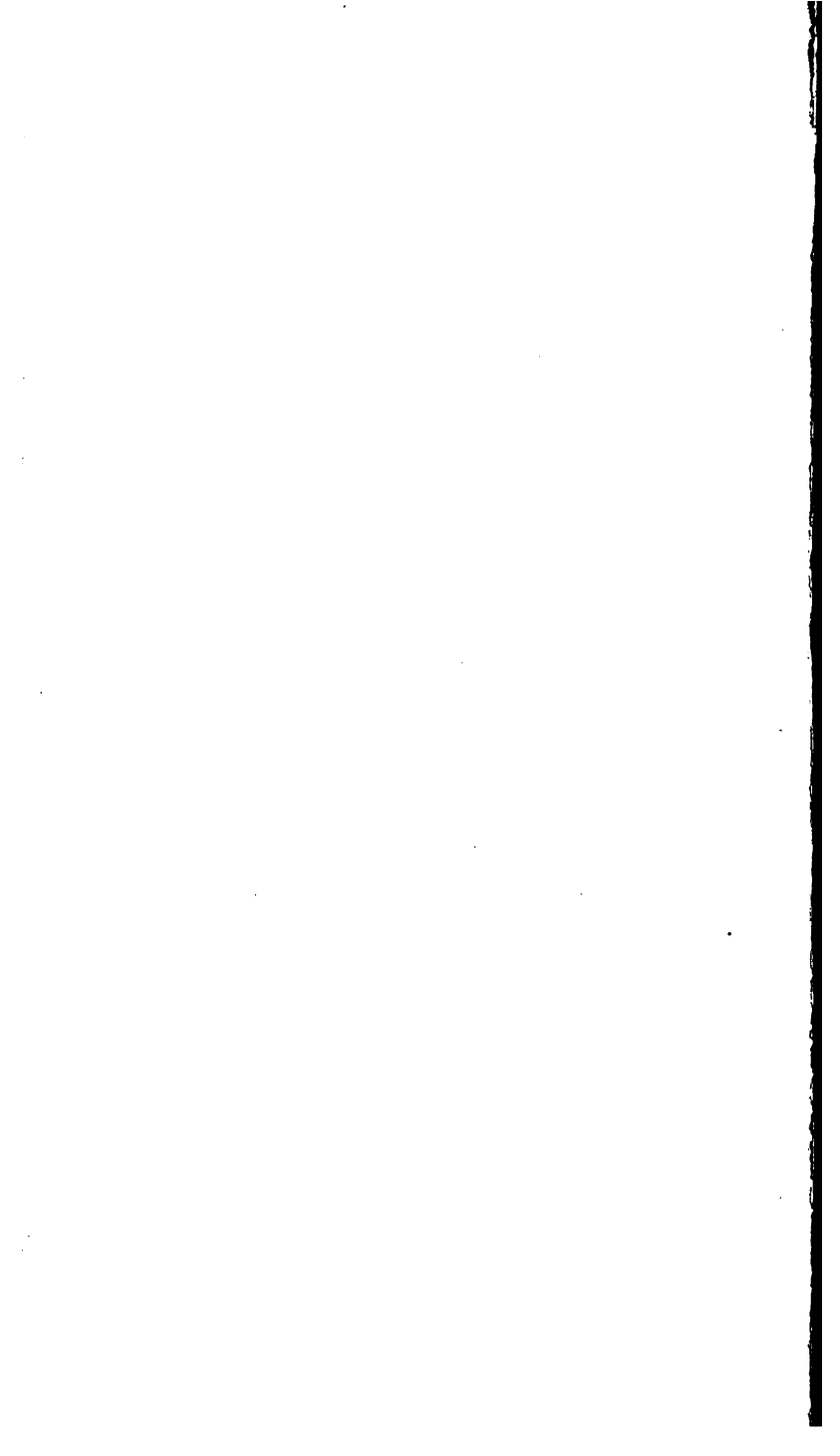












60
T H E C R I S I S .

A
COLLECTION

OF
ESSAYS

WRITTEN

In the Years 1792 and 1793,

UPON

TOLERATION, PUBLIC CREDIT,

THE

ELECTIVE FRANCHISE IN IRELAND,

THE

EMANCIPATION OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS,

WITH OTHER

INTERESTING AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

214 BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD MOUNTMORRES, F. R. S. M. R. I. A.

*Rara temporum felicitas ! ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias
dicere licet.*

TACITUS.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY P. BYRNE, 108, GRAFTON-STREET.

1795.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

1911

IL

P R E F A C E.

THE following Essays were written on a variety of subjects, in the years 1792 and 1793.

Some of them upon very important questions; upon the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, and upon the shock that commercial credit received at that period.

It is a testimony to truth, and the acknowledgment of a candid and liberal mind, that, upon the latter subject, the writer was mistaken in some respects; though, perhaps, it were to be wished that the Legislature had taken some precautions against the unbounded extension of paper circulation, that credit might not hereafter

A

transcend

transcend security, similar to regulations on that subject which have actually obtained in Ireland.

The writer has, since that time, been informed, by one of the ablest men and most respectable characters in this country, that the whole of the enormous sum of five millions, that was advanced in Exchequer bills, has been repaid; and that that wise and timely measure has answered every purpose that could be expected.

Touching the other Essays, it may be *truly* said, that they answered the writer's warmest expectations; particularly those on Toleration and the affairs of Ireland.

Nor is it, he flatters himself, a vain presumption, that they were eminently auxiliary in that important question; since the public in this country always draw just and fair conclusions from admitted facts.

The writer claims this distinction, as he never mistated, garbled, or wraped any facts that could be of public service, and ever preserved that which must eminently qualify any man to be of public service, namely, the sincerest regard and attachment to truth.

These Essays were written, at least the greater part of them, as Letters in the PUBLIC ADVERTI-

SER;

ser; the faithful and invaluable repository of the golden Letters of Junius; while a few only were modelled upon the plan of Mr. Addison's Freeholder; though it has been thought expedient to prefix the general title of THE CRISIS to those Essays which appeared under various signatures.

The author designs, at a leisure moment, to republish a collection of Letters which appeared under the the signature of THEMISTOCLES in the PUBLIC ADVERTISER, and which were copied into several other Papers, and were much approved of in 1788-9, at the memorable CRISIS of the REGENCY.

The writer has none of those idle and ridiculous Aristocratic prejudices, to prevent his being of public utility in any way, nor in any situation; if his speculations should have been of use to his country, at those critical periods, he is amply repaid by the reflection that they were dictated by a genuine regard for public welfare, by the purest motives of genuine patriotism.

Of the Letters under the signature of Themistocles, those only will be published with the Author's name that related to the great questions of the Regency; of the Mayor of Dublin, and the corporate rights of that city in 1790; and of the Spanish Convention.

The Author always designed to acknowledge those Essays, if ever they should be questioned, or should be considered, in any shape, as offensive to individuals; but such of them as alluded to some temporary appointments, and to designations which no longer exist, will be omitted; as they contain remarks which nothing but a regard to public welfare could justify at the time, and their re-publication might be unpleasing to some amiable and respectable characters.

The indulgent reader will excuse and take the obliging trouble of correcting typographical errors; as the collection was printed during the Author's absence on the Continent last autumn.

This circumstance will also account for the insertion of some Essays upon temporary subjects of inferior import; such as those upon fashionable clubs, the French theatres, and upon the passage from Milford to Waterford.

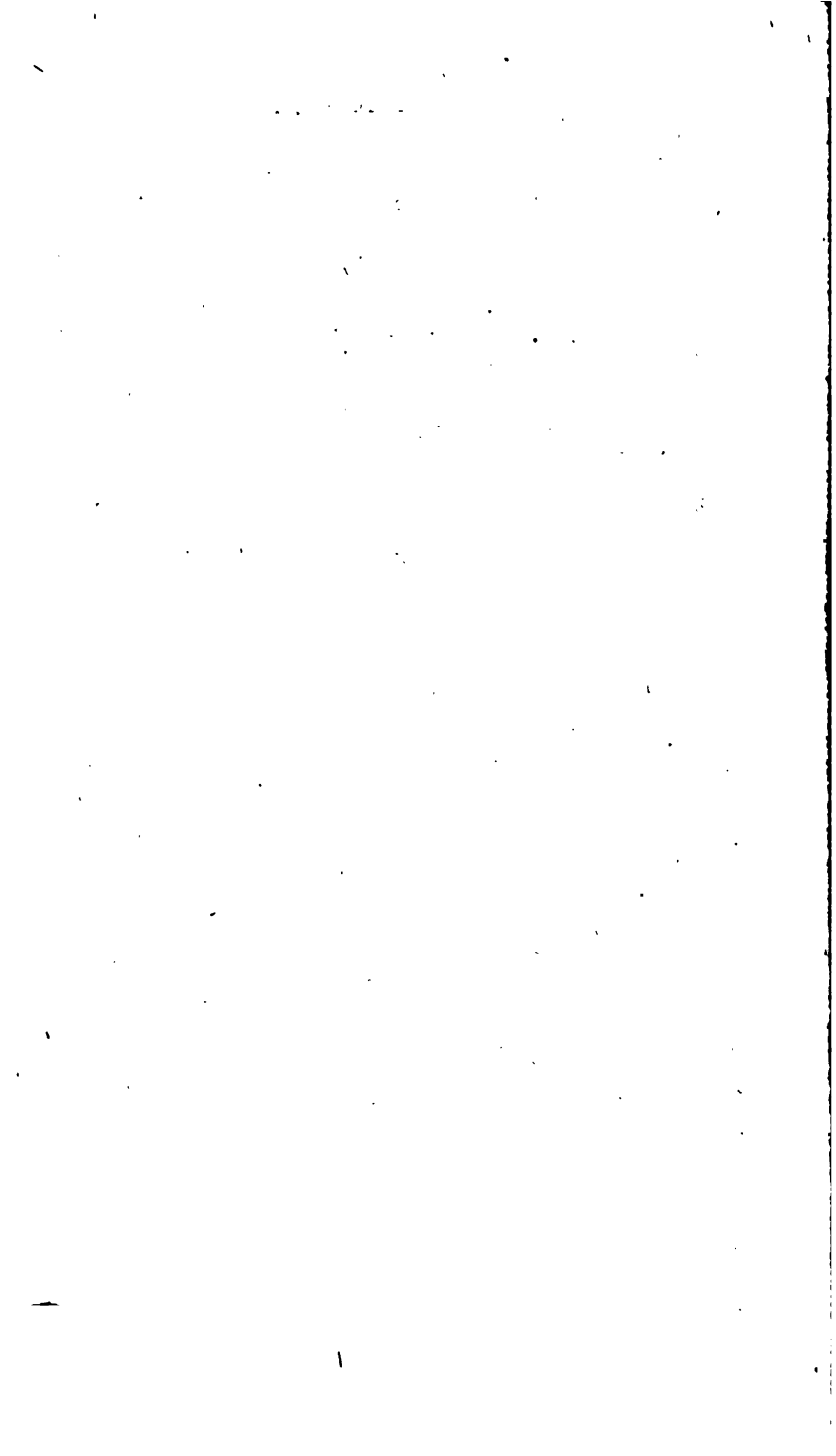
Touching this last subject: the Author has written many Essays, in the course of the last ten years, under the signature of an *old Member of Parliament*, and other titles: upon that and the improvement of the roads in South Wales, which have been marked with a very flattering approbation from a most respectable association.

Many

Many of those improvements have since been carried into complete effect; particularly the erection of a wooden bridge over the Suir at Waterford, by an American architect; which, for the boldness of design, and the cheapness of execution, may vie with the most distinguished public works of the present period.

So that the Author has hopes that the whole plan will be soon accomplished, by forming most commodious roads for mail-coaches from this capital, through Milford and Waterford, to Limerick and Cork.

As some of these Essays were written in the form of Letters to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, the reader will have the indulgence to excuse this circumstance, and that the same form was not preserved by the compiler during the Author's absence; and to supply a defect not essential in itself, more particularly in a compilation where public utility has been more consulted, than ceremony or ornament.



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THE CRISIS.

NO. I. WEDNESDAY, *Jan.* II, 1792.

Magna est Veritas, et Filia temporis, et prevalebit.

THE principal statutes, which are called in Ireland the Popery Laws, were enacted in 1703 and 1709.*

Of the first, Bishop Burnet remarks, that the Duke of Ormond, the then Lord Lieutenant, and the English Government, having had strong objections to its severity, contrived to add a clause in the English Council, (which formerly claimed a right of altering Irish Bills, under Poyning's Law) by which all persons were obliged to receive the sacrament in three months after they were invested with an office. This they knew would affect

* Irish Statutes, the 2d of Anne, chap. 12, and the 8th of Anne, chap. 3.

Dissenters, contrary to the wish of the Irish Parliament, who, upon that account, might reject the Bill upon its return to Ireland; but they were disappointed in their hopes. This additional provision formed the Sacramental Test, which was repealed in Ireland in 1780, and was similar to that which has lately made so much noise in this country.

Posterity will hardly believe that such a severe code of laws could have existed against the majority of the inhabitants of any country, no more than that the laws against witchcraft were not repealed in England till the 20th year of the late king.

Under these laws, Catholics could not purchase or take lands by will or devise, or in trust, or be guardians, or hold leases for a longer term than thirty-one years—the shortest term usual in Ireland. Their lands and properties gavelled, or were divided among their children. Landed security was interdicted; the possession of horses above a certain value; the use of arms, and military and learned professions; religion was promoted at the expence of morality; a younger son, changing his religion, obtained the rights of primogeniture, and made his father tenant for life.

Under the pressure of this severe system of laws, the Irish Catholics appeared, to a philosophic eye, like mice in an air pump, who were suffered to exist, and barely to breathe, for the sake of experiment.

The first breach in this formidable system was by a law to enable Catholics to take mortgages, or
landed

landed security, for their money, in 1773: this was carried, after long and violent debates in the Lords, by a majority of three. The young Nobleman, who persevered in carrying it through, though strong in opposition, was secretly befriended by the aid of Government, who wished well to it, though they did not choose to come ostensibly forward in the relaxation of the Popery Laws.

Some lights were thrown upon this subject, in the course of these debates, which induced a desire of further relaxation; and in 1781, Mr. Gardiner, the present Lord Mountjoy, introduced a Bill which reflects the greatest honour upon his character, which repealed the whole system; but it recited and re-enacted certain former provisions and disabilities, under which the Catholics now remain, and which may be classed under the following heads:

1st. Intermarriages—which are forbidden under certain penalties; among the rest, a Papist wife annuls the right of suffrage at elections.

2dly. Carrying arms without licence—this is seldom put in execution; but, according to the letter of the law, Catholics forfeit their arms, if carried without permission from magistrates.

3dly. Military Commissions.

4thly. Acting as Barristers or Solicitors.

5thly. Public Offices.

6thly. Admission to the University of Dublin.

7thly. Sitting in, and voting for Members of Parliament—The last four prohibitions depend upon the oaths of abjuration and supremacy, in taking which, they renounce the tenets of their religion

ligion; the restriction about offices do not extend to petty offices, or to petty juries: it is said to be a maxim in the Irish courts of law, that Catholics may be jurors in all cases, where the Popery laws are not concerned; but this rule, it is said, does not extend to Grand Juries.

8thly, and lastly. Public Worship.—Catholics, under the law of 1780, may have service in churches without bells, but processions, and all sorts of public establishments, or provisions for their clergy, are forbidden.

These are all their present legal disabilities; upon the whole of which, the following observations may be fairly and candidly made:

First, That the definition of an established religion is, that the Government, whether it consists of one person, or is vested in three bodies of men, should be exclusively of a certain profession, and that others of a different persuasion should not be admitted; consequently, that the Catholics cannot be Members of Parliament; particularly in a country where the majority of the people are of that profession; because if the same proportion should prevail in the Senate, which obtains in the community, their majority would give a predominance, and it would be in effect substituting their's for the established religion; and because also, this theory is justified by practice, since, where toleration is most predominant, in Holland and Pennsylvania, Catholics are not admitted to be members of the Legislature.

Secondly,

Secondly, That, the foregoing case excepted, the extension of common rights and privileges is desirable in every commonwealth, to all its subjects, unless they should hold evil opinions, or religious tenets, contrary to the general welfare: how far the Catholics do or do not hold such principles in Ireland, must be waved; nor can that question be discussed, without anticipating the arguments that will arise upon an inquiry which will shortly come under the consideration of the wisdom of the Irish Parliament.

Thirdly, Touching their relative numbers, it appears, from a return made by the Bishops in each diocese, to the House of Lords of Ireland, in 1735, lately reprinted as a pamphlet in Dublin, that, upon an average of the whole kingdom, the Catholics were to the Protestants as three to two, or three fifths of the whole population of Ireland; a proportion which has probably lessened since that time, as converts have, it is well known, considerably increased since 1773, since the relaxation of the Popery laws.

Lastly, That the English and the Irish Catholics are in a different predicament: the first are great in rank and in property, but small in numbers; the last are comparatively numerous, but there are few men of rank among them, and their relative property is inconsiderable.

NO. 2. SATURDAY, *March 24*, 1792.

For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight ;
His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right.

POPE.

WHEN we admire the celebrated "*Essay on the Causes of POPULAR DISCONTENTS*," the production of one of the greatest writers, and perhaps one of the wisest ministers this country ever saw, we must lament the small effect which it produced in the last century.

With the same benevolent motive, though with a better hope of success in this enlightened period, I shall trouble you with some observations upon the system of government which has obtained in Ireland for the last six or seven years, and upon the *true origin* of the PRESENT DISCONTENTS in that country. A few bold truths will be found in these remarks ; but on a similar display of matters of fact, I once had more good fortune than I expected, and in the publication of them you will add one to the many obligations which this country and the public owe to you.

It may pass for a general maxim, that all wise Governments should depend rather upon the major than the minor interest ; in other words, upon those who have the larger than the lesser stake in the property of a community.

This principle, however, does not obtain in Ireland, under the present system, since 1784. Those who are favoured with public employments,

are by no means equal in public consideration, in interest or in property in that kingdom, to many great interests who are in opposition; nor in many cases is the private property of the servants of Government equal in any degree to what they possess from their offices; from hence it follows, that the support of Government does not rest upon the natural base of superior landed property, but upon an artificial interest, created by itself.

It seems to have been a maxim, for some time past, to employ the Gentlemen of the Long Robe in the first offices of the State. Some have, no doubt, risen from obscurity to eminence by their talents; but of others, it may be truly said, that their merits are as unknown as their origin; that they have risen to eminence from mere adulation and intrigue, like the empty scale from its lightness and vacuity.

Nor have I a doubt that some of them have derived their consequence from exigencies in the State which were created by themselves, of which the meeting of the Irish Parliament, a fortnight before the great question of the Regency was decided here, which generated the present formidable opposition, and the affair in 1790, of the Mayor of Dublin, are remarkable instances.

It was my wish to enlarge upon the waste of public money, when those useless jobs, such as a palace for tide-waiters, more sumptuous than a royal residence, by which great profits have accrued to individuals; but careful of extending these remarks too far, I shall confine them to two important objects.

In Ireland, it seems to be a general maxim, that if any man has an office, be it ever so considerable, that it is a reason for asking, and often obtaining, a second and a third; insomuch, that there are some lawyers who have possessed six or seven thousand pounds a year under Government; but the true cause of the number of Lay Pluralists, if they may be so called, in that country, requires some explanation.

That Government in all countries must be supported by a due disposition of honours and of offices, is a great truth, which must be admitted; but there is a wide difference between that understanding which prevails between men of honour, that a fair and honourable service will in time meet with its sure recompense, and a downright bargain and sale, or, in other words, a specific recompense for a specific service—what the lawyers term, a *Quid pro Quo*. Unluckily, Government have given way to this last mode of bestowing offices, by which demands have constantly increased, and men, for every petty service, or from a common official speech, have obtained multiplied employments, and the patronage of Government has been too narrow and inadequate in Ireland.

That the former method of recompense is not understood, in the present system of administration, I have some reason to believe, from the following extraordinary matter of fact:

A gentleman, who was very high in political estimation some time ago, was much relied upon by Administration, and had rendered a series of
signal

signal services upon a most trying and critical emergency, but without having made any bargain or express stipulation.

The public naturally expected that one who had been so very useful, and of such importance, in a day of calamity, should have been the first object of honourable acknowledgment and grateful recompense ; but the method taken to evade the obligation is now well known, and is a very curious circumstance.

Insinuations were artfully dispersed, that a man must be an eccentric mortal who could render a service to Government without stipulation : that it was true policy to have such services for nothing, and that men of far less merit, having been highly favoured, had created a disappointment and an alienation of mind, which had prevented such an acknowledgment.

Various arts, and the lowest and meanest engines of iniquity, have been employed to favour this delusion, and to dupe the public into this opinion ; but the party concerned, being a man of an elevated mind, independent in his fortunes and resources, saw this matter in a ludicrous light, and, aware from what a little whimsical capricious source the persecution proceeded, he was sensible, that if cunning men knew the world, the world would soon know them ; that this flimsy artifice would in time be transparent, and that a trick, founded upon depravity and ingratitude, would, in due time, be consigned to the obloquy and contempt which it deserved.

Besides what I have mentioned, much, in all countries, will depend upon the personal decorum and propriety of conduct in those who preside in the government of a country : it is to be lamented that that politeness and urbanity, which may be well called *Et DECUS et TUTAMEN*, an ornament and a shield, prevails so little in the rising generation, and is to be traced in former times, or in those only who are passing off the stage. To dwell longer upon this subject would be improper. It might be a flattering incense at the altar of power, to say, that those who have lately presided in that country have given just ideas of dignified representation ; but it would be a notorious violation of truth.

So much for the system which has obtained for seven years and more, with a short interval since the year 1784. Permit me to add a conclusive word upon the important subject relative to the Roman Catholics, which engages so much of the public attention at the present period.

The proportion between the Catholics and Protestants in Ireland has been estimated as three to two, or as three-fifths of the whole population : hence it follows, that restrictions upon them are restraints upon the majority of the people.

It is true, that, upon this statement, the admission of the Catholics into Parliament would be a substitution of one religion for another. Their exclusion, I conceive to be a sacred constitutional palladium, which cannot be too much watched, or carefully preserved. Against this, the law has al-
ready

ready provided ample restraints; nor is it necessary that the country should be laid waste, to guard these bulwarks still more, and to prevent the invasion of an enemy.

Nor is this a mere metaphor, the product of the imagination, but it is a fair description, grounded upon a fact, that by their not being allowed the elective franchise, which they have so lately lost, many Catholics have been ousted from their farms, merely for the purpose of giving a preference to those who might create a Parliamentary influence.

It is somewhat surprising that, in a late publication of Mr. Burke's, it should have escaped his penetration and industrious inquiry, that this franchise was so lately disallowed: it was in the year 1715, that the first religious oaths were prescribed to Catholic voters; and in the year 1727-8, that they were prohibited from voting under severe penalties. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal to the Irish Statute Book.*

A diversity of religious opinions prevails not only in Holland, but in several other countries, and is accompanied with general harmony, and even reciprocal accommodation. Instead of being angry with each other for different modes of faith, a liberal mind should be pleased with that ingenuity which has invented any species of adoration or worship of the Supreme Being—that adora-

* Irish Statutes, the 2d of Geo. I. c. 19, and 1st of Geo. II. c. 9.

tion which all men owe, but which the wisest and the best, it must be acknowledged, perform imperfectly.

In a word, it were to be wished that the harmony and concord recommended by the Evangelical precepts were more attended to than the forms and ceremonies of this or that particular mode of worship, or the controversies of polemical divinity.

The great truths of religion and morality, the eternal rules of right and wrong, are every where nearly the same—religious forms and ceremonies are every where different. The first are the ordinances of Heaven—the latter are the institutions of man.

No. 3. SATURDAY, *April 7*, 1792.

Vir bonus est quis?
Qui mores patrum, qui leges juraque servat.

HORACE.

HAVING, in my letter of the 24th of March, entered into a general view of the conduct of affairs in Ireland, since the year 1784, I shall say no more upon the system which has prevailed since that period; the truths which were there
advanced

advanced will be confirmed by examination, and time will perhaps operate a necessary change and reformation.

But, upon the great question relative to the Elective Franchise, the grand and principal desideratum of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, little has yet been said; nor are the true and real grounds upon which the merits of that question rest, generally known, because they have hitherto been little considered in this country.

From the earliest periods, from the commencement of the Irish Parliament in the ninth year of King Edward the Second, to the Revolution, a difference of religion was not an exclusive bar to a seat in either House of Parliament; the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were prescribed to be administered to all the subjects of that realm, by the 2d of Elizabeth, it is true; but the Catholics did not by them abjure the tenets of their religion, nor were they particularly ordered to be administered to Members of Parliament.

Before the Irish Parliament met after a long recess of twenty-six years, in 1692, the English Legislature passed a law repealing the said act of Elizabeth, prescribing those oaths in a new form, and subjoining an oath of abjuration, or disavowal of the fundamental tenets of the Catholics, to be taken by Members, under the severest penalties, before they could sit and vote, which law was confirmed in 1782, by an act of the Irish Legislature.

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In the reign of Queen Anne, the Popery laws took place in 1703 and 1709, great part of which are now repealed; and it may be said with sufficient accuracy for a general assertion, that the Roman Catholics are now restrained only in two principal points, namely, from serving in the army, and in the elective franchise.

It was not till the year 1725, that the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were prescribed by an act of the 2d of George the First to be administered to electors; and in the year 1727, that they were totally prohibited by an act of the 1st of the late king, under severe penalties, from voting for Members of Parliament, or of Corporations.

From this short and just statement, it is manifest that this treatment and abrogation of the elective franchise in Roman Catholics was a late measure; that it was adopted near forty years after the Revolution, at a period when danger was no more, and controversy had subsided; and that it is to be considered apart and detached from the general system; and that other reasons than those which had produced the former Popery laws created this interdict, and that interested and political, rather than just and religious motives interfered.

This act, in the year 1727, so long after all plausible grounds of danger were removed, was a most extraordinary stretch of power, and it seems to transgress those bounds which Parliament cannot pass. The political annihilation
of

of half their constituents by a delegated Assembly, appears to be absurd, and a contradiction in terms; nor can it well be argued that a delegated can abridge a creative power; nor that a child should put a limit to the existence of his parent.

The law in 1641, which perpetuated the Long Parliament; that, in 1717, which, to a triennial delegation gave septennial existence, must be admitted to be strong measures, where Parliament acted with a questionable authority, though the latter has now obtained the sanction of common consent and long acquiescence; but a law, cutting off at once half the constituents in Ireland, was a still greater stretch of authority, for which it does not appear that there was any strong, overruling necessity, as was the case in the latter instance, near the commencement of the Hanover Succession.

Whenever men are under strong impressions of hope or of fear, artful persons are not wanting to exaggerate dangers and excite suspicions, to convert those passions into acts of violence or injustice, to answer their own designs and selfish purposes.

The danger of religion was the pretext; necessary ascendancy of the Protestant religion was the cry, the watch-word that was made use of, in order to narrow the rights of elective franchise, to confine it in few hands, for the interest of men who had a borough influence, or for the advantage of the minority of electors of that country.

In order to preserve that monopoly of franchise which was the true ascendancy that was laboured to be established by the late addresses from several districts in Ireland, it has been said lately, that the Roman Catholics had wished to gain an influence in Parliament, in order to overturn the present establishment, and the arrangement of property in Ireland, which took place after the Restoration.

But the latter, aware of the influence of these suggestions, have completely done away their effect, by a general association; in which they profess their political creed, demonstrate that they hold no opinions of a dangerous tendency to the State, assert that they have no design to overturn the present Establishment, or the Act of Settlement; by which last, I do not mean that which in this country regulates the succession of the Crown, and which is so called emphatically; but that law of Charles the Second in Ireland, which disposed of the lands forfeited in the Great Rebellion, chiefly to Protestant soldiers and adventurers, after the Restoration.

I am aware that it has been of late years the system of Administration, in Ireland, never to concede any point to the people, until it becomes a general wish, until there is a necessity—and then to grant what is desired at once, without hesitation. Nay more, I know, by experience, that those who anticipate a rational desire, that which sooner or later must be a public wish, are considered as fomenting disputes, and
acting

acting as political agitators; which, in a very humble capacity, happened to myself, in consequence of some remarks upon this subject in the year 1784. But it is true policy to anticipate the wish of the people, and not to wait till it becomes a general desire; obligation is conferred in the one case, but an acquiescence in that which cannot be avoided, creates no favour in the other.

Thus circumstanced, I own, I consider it to be true policy to concede, that elective franchise should be general in Ireland; and that that concession should be at this period, for the *four* following marked and distinct reasons:

First, Because that the act in 1727 was radically wrong: it was the abridgment by a delegated, of a creative right: it was the abridgment of franchise by those whose credentials or instructions did not warrant such an exercise of power.

Secondly, from a consideration of local injury to the agriculture of the country, and detriment to the tenantry, many of the Catholics having lost their farms, to substitute others in their place, who were possessed of the elective franchise.

Thirdly, Upon a reflection that all dangers are now removed, and that the people may be gratified, and the Government and Establishment secured, by one and the same measure.

And lastly, Upon a conclusion, which follows as a necessary corollary from the last consideration, that instead of the present oaths,

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containing

containing a disavowal of the tenets of their faith, one may be prescribed to voters who will form a large body, who will *then* have an interest in the Commonwealth; by which their attachment may be insured to the present Establishment, and they may thus give a new security and an additional pledge of their loyalty.

Thus I have endeavoured to prove that this concession would be mutually beneficial. But as I mentioned the celebrated "*Essay on Popular Discontents*," in my last letter, I shall refer to what the author says upon toleration in Holland, and conclude with the opinion of the greatest Foreign Minister this country ever saw, perhaps the best political writer she ever knew, one of the most disinterested, of the wisest, and the best of men, the great Minister and Philosopher, Sir William Temple.

"The way to our future happiness has been perpetually disputed through the world, and must at last be left to the impressions made upon every man's belief and conscience, either by natural or supernatural gifts and means; for belief is no more in a man's power than his features or his stature; and he that tells me that I must change my opinion for his, because it is truer or better, without any other arguments that have to me the force of conviction, may as well tell me that I must change my grey eyes for others, because they are better, or more in esteem. Nor could I ever understand how those who call themselves, and the world usually calls, religious men, come to

put

put so great stress upon those points of belief where men have so little agreed, and so little upon those of virtue and morality, in which they have hardly ever disagreed."

No. 4. FRIDAY, *August 3*, 1792.

————— Sævior armis,
Luxuria inunbuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

LUCAN.

THE public prints have lately announced the intended establishment of a new club in St. James's-square, at a house where a chapel was built upon a speculation as a *Maison d'Ambassade* for the Spanish or some other Catholic Ambassador.

Upon the amusements and occupations of the *béau monde*, periodical papers have formerly commented; the minuter decencies, the inferior duties, and the practice of daily conversation, were first taught by Casa, in his Book of Manners, and Castiglione, in his Courtier; the Tatler and the Spectator were afterwards modelled upon those miscellanies, according to Johnson, and possibly many odd customs have crept into our manners and conversation, from the want of some judges of propriety, similar to those of

former days, who employed their time like Steele and Addison.

In the days of the Spectator, White's Chocolate-house, which was then kept at the Bedford Head, Covent Garden, before it was removed to St. James's-street, was the principal, perhaps the only house where play was openly predominant; but in the last ten years almost every second house, within a certain range of the verge of the Court, has been let for clubs, and tolerated for gambling communities.

The consequence of this multiplication of male societies has had a fatal effect upon our manners; the separation of the sexes has introduced a vulgarity in our dress, a grossness in our conversation, and a clownishness in our manners—nay more, it has banished the remnant of hospitality.

That it should be countenanced by people of great fortune seems very extraordinary, since it tends to put a man of allowance of five hundred or a thousand a year upon a level with a man of ten thousand per annum: as all that is required is a sufficiency to pay for their ordinary in these gaming seminaries.

It has been remarked, by some liberal Frenchmen, before the late Revolution, that if the English were rich, people of fashion in this country had less for their money, from the course of their lives and manners, than those of any other nation in Europe; a remark which will appear to be founded in truth, from the following contrast to our dull and sombre way of dawdling

dawdling away our lives at ordinaries or gaming-houses, of the mode of living by people of rank, and even of the middling classes in France, before the late Revolution.

Most people of fortune at Paris, by which I mean what would be equivalent to three or four thousand pounds a year in England, kept an open table of eight or ten covers, to which a certain number of friends had a constant invitation: the mode of keeping this open table, and preventing its degenerating into an ordinary (for as such all very large companies were held in France) was curious; and as I have not seen it mentioned by any modern traveller, the following short detail may not be unacceptable:

It was necessary for those who were thus constantly invited to send to inquire of the porter if the master of the house received company (as the phrase was) that day: if the answer was in the negative, it was understood the table was full, and thus a pleasant society was never overstocked; it is to be observed, however, that this system, to many in this country, would appear very dull, because the cloth was not removed, nor was the bottle circulated upon the brown board, as with us: the dinner never exceeded an hour and a half; coffee made its appearance at a stated time, when the men and the ladies rose together from table.

From a very convenient custom which is predominant in France and other countries on the Continent, any person who had one good apart-

ment was enabled to select a pleasant party at dinner; because in every street there were *traiteurs*, who charged themselves with the whole detail of furnishing every article of dinner, at about a crown a head at most, and as their own servants waited on the guests, attendants were not wanted.

This matter is thus detailed, because travellers have omitted mentioning these minute circumstances, as too unimportant to dwell upon, though, upon minute particulars, the convenience, perhaps the happiness of life, in a great measure depends.

This mode of life was certainly more rational and convenient than that of Clubs, where the sexes are separated, where sometimes few or no members are to be found, and where, at other periods, a dinner resembles an ordinary at an election, or a horse-race. Elegance and hospitality, however, have taken their flight now from that country, and licentiousness pervades private as well as public societies, since the Revolution.

It is reported, however, that this new club is to supersede all the rest, in point of extent and magnificence; that more than a plum has been subscribed for its establishment; that ladies, as well as men, are to be members; that the tavern and the ball-room are to be united: upon which I shall trouble you with the following conclusive observations.

Many

Many of the masters of the present fashionable clubs have laid out large sums upon the premises, relying upon the resort of the Members to their houses; upon their support and countenance, for which they have entered into written engagements, the Club which is now in contemplation must be a great and unjust detriment, therefore, to the old establishments.

The admittance of ladies of fashion to a tavern or a club-house, was so decried about twenty years ago, that the recollection of the remarks upon that institution, will save me and your readers much trouble; perhaps, it may not be amiss to remark, that the Upholsterer who undertook it was ruined, though he was indemnified by some thousands, obtained by actions from three noble securities.

But, Sir, the most extraordinary circumstance attending this report is, (for as such only I state it) that the new club is to be countenanced by the second personage in the kingdom—this induces me to believe that the whole account has originated from some random conversation, and has no other foundation; for I have too high an opinion of the person in question, to suppose that he would countenance any institution which probably would, in the end, become a gambling seminary, and be notoriously a breach of the laws of this country.

No. 5. WEDNESDAY, *August 8, 1792.*

Quis ignorat, JUDICES, maximam illocebram esse peccandi,
impunitatis spem.

CICERO.

OUR excellent and invaluable Constitution has devised so complete and admirable a system of modern criminal jurisprudence, that we must be surprized that there is not a greater analogy between principles and effects; that the number of public depredations daily increase; and that in this instance, politically speaking, you do not know the tree by its fruits.

I say modern, because there are some obsolete laws still upon the code, which require a judicious and temperate reform. It was upon the strict execution of similar institutions, upon an antiquated and cruel law in Venice, that Shakspeare has founded *The Merchant of Venice*, and composed that admired and almost proverbial speech upon Mercy, which, however, is too often injudiciously quoted, frequently misapplied, and its tendency generally misunderstood.

The great happiness of a free state consists not only in the mildness of the laws, but in the certainty of their execution. "When I am called upon (said the great and excellent Chief Justice Hale) to shew mercy to a criminal, let me remember, at the same time, that there is some mercy due to my country." Transgressors

are

are not punished only for past offences, but that their certain fate may be a warning to others. The principle that should pervade a code of criminal jurisprudence, is beautifully described in Holy Writ: "Let a mark be set upon the house where the plague is, that the man who shall enter shall know that he must die."

I have been led into this train of reflections by a late condemnation at the assizes in a neighbouring county, where a man who was condemned upon the clearest evidence, for having stolen several head of cattle, was recommended to the Judge by the Counsel, at the desire of a Noble prosecutor.

And here it may be asked, what the motives of the prosecution were, if the course of law was intended to be stopped by a partial interference? If humanity was in question, why was the criminal brought to trial in the instance? And if compassion is to be displayed, why was it done in this circuitous manner, at the expense of the safety of the commonwealth, since every offender that is thus reprieved, is an encouragement to future transgressors?

To this source may be traced the excess of depredations which at present prevail in this capital. The frequent reprieves of those who are condemned by juries, by the judgment of their peers, by the just decision of their country; when malefactors can calculate so many chances in their favour, from a mistaken and a cruel leni-

nity, after the fairest condemnation, we need not be surprized that they should multiply and increase.

The story of a celebrated malefactor, not many years ago, is a complete justification of the foregoing assertions.

A man had been, after a variety of crimes, at last led to the fatal tree ; when the rope was about his neck, and the cart was going to drive off, a comrade of his called out to the Sheriff, that the man under sentence was innocent, and that he himself had committed the robbery in question. The Sheriff very humanely stopped the execution, and sent an account of this to the Secretary of State's office, and an order came to carry the man back to Newgate, where he was shortly after not only reprieved but discharged.

This was the famous Patrick Madan, who was committed for seven years to prison, afterwards, for a riot, and released from his imprisonment in Newgate, when it was burned, in 1780.

He then formed, as it was said, an academy for house-breakers ; and in one of his expeditions he was taken in a shop, discovered, and capitally convicted : notwithstanding which, he was reprieved for transportation. He was afterwards found at large, when he again received sentence of death, but he was reprieved once more to be transported : it was said that he had formed a conspiracy on board the ship ; that he had bored a hole in the bottom, and in the confusion that he got ashore :
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he was again retaken: but, instead of being remanded for his former sentence, he was told at the bar of the Old Bailey that he should be sent abroad. This change of punishment he refused to comply with, unless his treatment in Newgate, where he was chained to the floor, should be better: but, upon the Recorder informing him that his former sentence should be executed on that day fortnight, at Tyburn, he accepted of the condition, when he was transported to Africa. Of his fate afterwards there were various reports, but none could be ascertained.

But whatever his ultimate fate was, it is certain that one instance of this sort must tend to harden more villains than the execution of twenty malefactors could dismay. I shall pursue this interesting subject hereafter: mean time, I cannot help referring to the celebrated aphorism, which is the motto to this Essay, and was addressed by Tully to the Roman Judges, in his oration for Milos, "that the hope of impunity was the great incentive to transgression."

No. 6. SATURDAY, *August 12, 1794.*

Quid tristes querimoniz,
Si non supplicio, culpa reciditur?

HORACE.

THE principal cause of the great increase of depredations in this metropolis, is certainly, in a great measure, to be attributed to the dispensing power; for as such I consider the frequent suspension of sentences which have been awarded by juries, by the determination of their peers, and the voice of the country.

How common is it to read in the public prints, where stealers of cattle are concerned, of the prisoners being reprieved at the end of the assize, before the Magistrates left the town. Thus the ends of justice are defeated, as the representation of the Beggar's Opera is rendered pernicious by a reprieve.

On the 8th instant, I troubled you with some comments upon this interesting subject, to which I shall annex the following short remarks, unwilling to occupy a larger space in a Paper conducted on such public-spirited principles, and so uniformly beneficial to the commonwealth.

I am aware, that some may consider these strictures as invidious, which counteract an amiable tendency and a merciful disposition; but, upon mature reflection, I cannot help thinking that mild punishments, which are executed with certainty,
would

would be the surest means of preventing transgressions, and the best police that could be suggested.

When we consider the great difficulty of bringing offenders to justice, of substantiating their crimes, and of identifying their persons; when we reflect upon the fairness and the publicity of trials, and the lenient and merciful disposition of our criminal code, we must lament that the determinations of juries should be suspended, or set aside, upon light or trivial grounds.

And yet, if reports may be believed, applications have been made through very inferior channels, which have operated to the suspension of justice, and to the consequent encouragement of transgression, by holding out hopes of impunity.

The principle which operates upon these occasions may have a merciful tendency, when considered in the abstract, and with a reference to a particular case; but when regarded in a general light, and a comprehensive view of the subject; if it holds out hopes of impunity, and thereby increases the number of transgressors, it may well be pronounced to be cruelty in the extreme.

Nor is it contrary to the genius of a free State, that a certainty of punishment should predominate; since an enlightened foreigner, a great admirer of our Constitution, and who understood its principles better than any Frenchman, speaks of this theoretical certainty in the execution of the law, which he conceives to be congenial to the principles of freedom.

“ In

“ In proportion to the approach of any Consti-
“ tution to a Republican form of Government
“ (says Montesquieu) the more the sentences of
“ Courts of Justice are certain and determined.
“ It was a great fault that the Ephori judged arbi-
“ trarily in Sparta ; the judgments of the first
“ Roman Consuls were similar ; but this incon-
“ venience was afterwards reformed, and checked
“ by their laws.

“ Thus in England the juries decide whether
“ the accused is guilty of the crime with which
“ he is charged, and the certain punishment is
“ found in the law ; and if he is found guilty,
“ the Judge has only to use his eyes, to pronounce
“ that sentence which the criminal code has
“ awarded.”

I shall conclude this Essay with the words of a
writer justly celebrated for the amiable and bene-
volent tendency of his work upon Crimes and
Punishments, in which he finally abridges the sum
and substance of his treatise :

“ In fine, (says the Marquis de Beccaria) a
“ punishment should be certain, immediate, and
“ necessary, commensurate to the crime, and
“ prescribed by the laws.”

No. 7. THURSDAY, *August 16, 1792.*

——— Sæviorensis
Parcendi Rabies.

CLAUDIAN.

THE subject of the Effays of the 8th and 11th of August is so very important, so pressing, and so seasonable, that it will be my best excuse for trespassing once more upon yours and the public attention.

The principle which should pervade the criminal code of every country should be that which prevents the number of necessary executions, and carries along with it the greatest terror; that punishment should extend to few, and fear reach to many: but I conceive that the certainty of the execution of the law would be this salutary principle, whence it follows that it should be constantly enforced, and uniformly followed.

In France, before the late Revolution, whatever defects there were in their Government, their police was certainly admirable; and particularly the constant execution of the determinations of Courts of Justice; the consequence of which was, that both their streets might be passed, and their high roads travelled, at all hours, in perfect security; and house-breaking was almost unknown; of which the following anecdote is a pleasant illustration:

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Some years before the late Revolution, a burglary had been committed, and a house robbed, to a considerable amount, at Paris. This was then an offence so rare, that the Police observed, that they supposed it had been committed *par des Rossignols Anglois*—by some English Nightingales; by which droll appellation, they meant to distinguish a species of offenders who were almost unknown amongst them.

Our ancestors have left us a most admirable criminal code, the product of experience, nurtured by the wisdom of ages. Before we turn our eyes to new systems of police, let us try what the strict execution of the old laws will effect. It has been the opinion of men, the best informed upon the subject, that by a rigid execution of our legal ordinances, one half at least, if not more, would be shortly subtracted from the fatal calendar.

I am aware that mercy has many advocates, and must ever be popular in this country; to men who view only one case, who govern themselves by particular instances, and not by a general view of the subject, many arguments in favour of a dispensing power may arise: but to those who consider it in a more enlarged point of view, who reason from its general effects, that principle must be reprobated which is false to its profession; which encourages numbers to transgress, and ultimately necessitates many executions, by holding out the hopes of impunity

I shall

I shall conclude these remarks with the aphorism contained in the motto to this Essay; which was the lamentation of Claudian, in the decline of the Roman Empire, under the government of Arcadius and Honorius; that the rage for pardoning transgressors was the great scourge of the community.

No. 8. WEDNESDAY, *August 29, 1792.*

————— En quò discordia cives,
Perduxit miseros!

VIRGIL.

THE present *anarchy* which prevails in FRANCE, and the effects it will probably produce in the system of Europe, is a fertile theme, upon which various speculations and discordant conjectures have prevailed.

While nations are unanimous in the choice of this or that system of government, neighbouring kingdoms have no right to interfere; for this reason, the conduct of the Northern Despot, relative to the late Constitution of Poland, excited the just indignation of Europe, justly engaged the friendship of all lovers of rational freedom, and the liberal patronage of Britons.

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But where parties prevail, where countries are torn and divided by contending factions, where one of them claims the protection of neighbouring States—in this case, foreigners have interfered, possibly with some semblance of right; and if their designs are guided by liberality, and their councils with wisdom, they may ultimately be the greatest benefactors, by the restoration of order, of temperate government, and national freedom.

Thus, in the memorable period, from 1619 to 1648, of the thirty years war which desolated Germany, antecedent to the famous pacification of Westphalia, both in hostilities and negotiation, every power in Europe interfered, save only Russia, who had not at that time entered into the European system.

Though these hostilities commenced upon the succession of the Elector Palatine, the unfortunate relative of King James the First, who interfered only by some fruitless negotiations, yet, under his successor, a large body of English served with Gustavus Adolphus. Religious principles, as well as the civil rights of every member of the Germanic system, were concerned in those memorable contests. Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and lastly France, under the reign (as it may be well called) of Cardinal Richelieu, were opposed to the German and Spanish branches of the House of Austria; when at the end of that long period of thirty years hostilities, peace was at length restored

stored by their arduous efforts, and the negotiations of five years in the Congress of Munster.

When we look at the mighty interests which are now engaged, and carry our views forward to their probable future operations, we may possibly see our way obscurely through the mist in which they are enveloped ; and if the interference of the great Continental Powers is guided by similar views, and as wise and as benevolent designs as those which predominated in 1648, possibly the Constitution, founded on the broad basis of rational freedom, and practical subordination, may be at length restored to France, and guaranteed to that country by all Europe ; as the Germanic system, which has now remained unimpaired, in essentials, at least, was grounded upon, and secured by the memorable Treaty of Westphalia.

But the blessings of peace will probably not be speedily restored, nor obtained, without much further effusion of blood ; from the present temper of that country ; from the system which they have in view, and its impracticability, in France, with a reference to their rooted principles and attachment to Monarchy and to Aristocracy.

As the American war was the parent of the French Revolution, the Constitution, and the system of the Anglo-Americans, has been the great model, the archetype of that government which the predominant faction have laboured to establish in France.

This is well known to those who have been in that country since the Revolution ; though to

meer theorists, who have written or descanted upon what they never saw, it appears almost incredible, that ancient customs and rooted prejudices should have changed in so short a period.

With the existence of regal or aristocratical principles, this system is absolutely incompatible; hence the desire of the faction, to annihilate the vestiges of a Monarchy, and the traces and remnants of Nobility; who would never suffer such a Commonwealth, and could not bear to vegetate under such a Government.

To a great part of the French Community this system is highly revolting; and its establishment, according to their principles, would be as unjust as a decree enjoining the Gentoos, whose religion forbids them, like the ancient Pythagoreans, the use of animal food, to live upon flesh. If therefore the efforts of the Allied Powers shall be directed to the establishment of a rational and practicable system, maintaining a reasonable subordination, a just gradation, where ancient rights and usages shall be regarded, while the privileges of the Democracy shall be preserved; if this should be their design; if this principle should pervade their operations—mankind shall approve their generous efforts, and Europe shall applaud a league conducted by such noble and generous intentions.

But if partitioning treaties should be in contemplation—if the revival of obsolete claims—if the abrogation of ancient conventions and solemn treaties—if the usual policy of availing themselves

themselves of their neighbours distress—if these designs should pervade their combination—it is not difficult to foretell that the mighty efforts of the Allied Powers will only serve to raise a splendid Mausoleum for Regal Power in Europe.

No. 9. SATURDAY, *September 8, 1792.*

In hoc portu, Atheniensium nobilitatis, imperii,
Gloriæ, naufragium factum existimatur.

CICERO.

THE allusion of the Roman orator, in one of his orations against Verres, to the calamity which befel Athens, in their imprudent attack upon Syracuse, may be converted into a general maxim relative to those Princes and States who form remote Crusades, and unwisely and wantonly engage in the domestic troubles and intestine factions of powerful kingdoms.

As such, it may be applied to the present mighty combination against France, and it will lead us to think that the allied Princes will demur somewhat longer before they engage in an enterprize, where, according to their engagements in their manifestos to the Powers of Europe, no advantage is proposed to themselves.

Having troubled you with some remarks on the 29th ult. I shall pursue the same train of reflections in the present Essay. I can never think without delight and satisfaction of the success of my humble labours in former communications upon most important subjects. Happy is that country where the Freedom of the Press, in a Paper conducted like your's, may become the vehicle of truth. The man who sows an acorn in a good soil, may plant that tree, which in future ages may become the safe-guard, the bulwark of the liberties of mankind.

When we consider the many difficulties attending upon the proposed excursion of a mighty host to Paris, when we reflect on the distance,* the difficulties of their march, the doubtful event, even upon their success, and the impossibility of dragooning six and twenty millions of people into their system, we shall be still more and more confirmed in this opinion.

I speak not of defensive, but of aggressive wars, when I say that France has stood alone against all Europe. History tells us, in the end of the last century, of the combination of Spain, England, Holland, and Germany, and in the beginning of this, of the same Powers, with the addition of Portugal, and the mighty armies

* The last march of a foreign army to that capital, was that of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, who marched from Brussels with 20,000 men, on the 3d of August, and arrived at Lagny, near Paris, on the 5th of September, 1590, when he compelled Henry the Fourth to raise the siege of Paris.

under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and domestic annals inform us, that after all the waste of English blood and treasure, the Allies had not passed the frontiers of France at the conclusion of the succession war.

Of the invasion of foreign armies, it may be generally remarked, that the waste of treasure serves only to enrich the invaded country. Thus in Ireland, where the great question was decided at the Revolution, it is still remembered that the country suffered materially by the withdrawing of the two armies, and the loss of their expenditure; but besides the great expense of treasure, the still greater waste, and more important loss of soldiers, is to be estimated in arduous campaigns and distant expeditions.

“ It is not surprizing (says Marshal Saxe in his *Reveries*) to see so many diseases in an army. Those who have the strongest constitutions, perhaps escape the longest, but they must at last submit to calamities which are unavoidable. I have always remarked that a single campaign reduces an army one-third at least, and that the cavalry in particular is in so wretched a state at the end of October, as to be no longer able to keep the field.”

It is true that this remark applies to that great remnant of human error, to war in general; but to this particular aggression, to this species of hostility, desertion is to be superadded, and the rewards which are offered by a country, which
has

has lately emerged and been recently emancipated from despotism.

But to bring these considerations home to the feelings of Britons, and to the reflections of men who must value the freedom of others, in proportion as they prize and estimate their own; it must give peculiar satisfaction to the people of this country, that not only our insular situation, but our true interests, recommend an absolute neutrality. That system must ever be condemned which interferes in the domestic troubles of their neighbours: France has paid too dear for meddling in our Colonial dissensions; and one of the greatest Princes, certainly the first General, perhaps one of the first writers Europe has known, has emphatically condemned that species of interference. It was expressed, in an important memorial to this country; it contains, however, a general maxim, the truth of which is not impeached, by his own, and the subsequent conduct of his successor, since passion, interest, or ambition, often warp the conduct of men, and lead them blindly to adopt systems, which, in their calmer and more philosophical moments, they have emphatically and notoriously disapproved.

I allude to that Rescript which was presented in 1744 to our Court, upon the attack upon Silesia, by the Minister of Frederic the Great: "As
" no German Prince (said he) has a right to
" meddle with the internal policy of Great Bri-
" tain, nor with the constitution of its govern-
" ment,

" ment, I have reason to hope that the English
 " nation will not meddle with the domestic affairs
 " of the Empire: I entertain these hopes the
 " more, because England has no reason to med-
 " dle with this quarrel from any commercial con-
 " sideration; and although it had a greater incli-
 " nation for one German Court than for another,
 " yet I think it too unreasonable to pretend that
 " such powerful and respectable Princes as those of
 " the Empire are, should be obliged to rule their
 " conduct upon the inclinations of those amongst
 " the English, who strive to make their country-
 " men enter into quarrels that are of no manner
 " of concern to England."

No. 10. THURSDAY, *September 20, 1792.*

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

VIRGIL.

BEFORE I enter upon the merits of the
 great question, which at present engrosses the
 attention of our Sister Kingdom, it may not be
 inexpedient to preface these observations with a
 few leading principles and some general state-
 ments of the various sects and religious distinc-
 tions and divisions of the people of Ireland.

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Ministers

Ministers who have the great political chart of Europe before their eyes, at the present momentous crisis, may not have leisure to advert to matters which are comparatively of less magnitude. The eye which has been employed upon large objects and extensive prospects, cannot immediately contract its powers, to view and examine those of a more minute and of a less interesting nature.

Of the three parties under which the inhabitants of Ireland may be classed, namely, Dissenters, Church of England Men, and Roman Catholics, the last are by far the most numerous: by accurate returns made in 1735, they appear to be about three-fifths of the whole population. This division, which are as three to two in the totality, are still prevented from voting for Members of Parliament, and from serving upon Juries.

It is said, that the first are more numerous than the second class; but this is only a report, which I am not able to prove. To the Dissenters, however, every indulgence has been granted that they have or could desire. In 1719 they were relieved from every prohibition, save only one, viz, the injunction of a qualification for offices of receiving the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England; but this part of the Popery laws, which contained what is here termed the Sacramental Test, was in 1780, repealed solely in their favour.

Thus circumstanced, the Dissenters in Ireland can have no desire for innovation, only as it extends

to the community at large, since their interests are co-extensive with those of the mass of the people. It is said that they are desirous of a parliamentary reform, and other changes in the Constitution; but with them they have no common interest, and have disavowed a political connection; nor is there now a common interest upon which a union or alliance can be grounded. The cause of the Catholics rests upon its own merits, and may be discussed and treated of separately and detached from every other party consideration.

The system which is known in Ireland by the name of the Popery Laws, originated principally in 1703. Those severe penalties, which were then thought to be necessary, but of which, within the last twelve years, nine parts in ten have been repealed, did not comprehend a prohibition to vote for Members of Parliament; that interdiction commenced near thirty years afterwards, in 1727, in the first year of the reign of his late Majesty, after a general election.

From the Revolution to this period, many plots have been hatched in these kingdoms, two dangerous rebellions have endangered the present happy establishment; the disaffected have secretly conspired, or avowedly manifested their enmity to the Act of Settlement; but during the whole of this long period, the Irish Catholics, under the pressure of a severe and intemperate system, have shewed no systematical designs of revolt, or manifested any general act of rebellion; the arguments for penalties and restrictions always turn upon

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their conduct in 1641 and in 1688 ; such were their principles in those periods—the lapse of a century is trifling, such would be their conduct now, was it not for the operation of the Penal Laws, say their opponents.

It is very remarkable, however, that those restrictions which obtained near the Revolution, which the bounds of this Essay will not allow me, and which I hope are too well known to render it necessary for me to detail, have since been repealed, while the prohibition of the Elective Franchise, which formed no part of the original system which originated in 1727, near forty years after the Revolution, and it is said from meer private personal motives in a disappointed candidate for one of the southern counties at that general election, still remains in full force, by which a majority of the community have no interest in the choice of Representatives in Parliament.

The prohibition of the Catholics to serve upon Grand and Petty Juries, except in cases where a sufficient number of Protestants cannot be found in the vicinity, originated from a clause in the sixth of Anne, chapter the 6th ; but it is to be noted that this fourth section, which contains the interdiction, reaches those cases principally in the Popery laws, nine parts in ten of which have since been repealed.

In Ireland the powers of Grand Juries are far more considerable than in England ; from their powers of raising money for making the roads in the counties of that kingdom, they may be considered

sidered as a sort of minor Parliaments: to enter into the detail of the several Acts of Parliament on which those powers are grounded, and of the system of making roads in that country so different from that of England, would exceed the bounds of this Essay.

It is only mentioned here, to shew, that this power being now confined solely to Protestants, the Grand Juries, who have entered into strong resolutions against granting any farther indulgence to the Catholics, may have other motives than what might be supposed to influence bodies of men of that description in this country.

A monopoly of power in all countries will look with a jealous eye upon the extension of franchises, which may entrench upon their own particular province. I do not mean to insinuate more, than that Grand Juries, in that country, are not, nor ought to be, considered as totally disinterested in the agitation of the present great national question.

Thus I have troubled you with a fair state of facts, which are admitted on all sides, save only an anecdote in the eighth paragraph, relative to the Elective Franchise. It is said, that it was abrogated, upon private motives, in 1727; but this is a meer hearsay, which I am not sufficiently informed of, positively to authenticate.

From admitted facts, any man may draw his own inferences; and I shall trouble you with a few remarks upon these premises another day,
which

which I shall submit, through the medium of your excellent Paper, to a discerning and impartial public.

NO. II. WEDNESDAY, *September 26, 1792.*

Le faux zèle est un tyran, qui dépeuple les provinces : la tolérance est une tendre mère, qui les soigne & les fait fleurir.

FREDERIC LE GRAND.

IN considering the great subject which occupies the attention of the people of Ireland, I shall readily admit that the present system of Government in Church and State in that kingdom, established at the Revolution, ought to be zealously and strenuously maintained.

Conformable to this principle, I conceive that the admission of Catholics into the Legislature, or the primary offices of the State, ought not to be conceded. The definition of an established religion is, that the Government, whether it be vested in one or in many, in one or more assemblies, or, to speak more distinctly, that the Members of that Government should be of this or of that persuasion. In Ireland, after an appeal to Heaven, the final award was in favour of a Protestant establishment. This has been guaranteed by a variety of laws, either made at the Revolution, or near that memorable period, or grounded upon similar principles, viz. upon the attachment of the Catholics to foreign sway, demonstrated by overt acts of rebellion,

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The Roman Catholics have lately associated for the purpose of carrying two points by an application to the Legislature : their meeting is said to be orderly ; at least, there is no evidence of a contrary tendency : the requests are, that of being Jurors, and of obtaining a right of voting for Members of Parliament, which, for brevity, I shall call the Elective Franchise ; and this last I shall regard as the principal object, and consider it independent of the other.

Why then the question will narrow itself to this inquiry : Does the Elective Franchise depend upon the laws at the period of the Revolution, or was this restraint built upon similar principles ? If the result of our research shall be, to answer this question in the negative, it follows, it does not trench upon the Protestant Establishment.

Neither the system of the Popery Laws, at the Revolution, nor in the Queen's reign, contain any such restraint : Catholics were enjoined to take certain oaths, six months before they voted at elections, in 1716 ; and in 1727 they were, for the first time, prohibited from exercising the Elective Franchise.

Having lately seen extracts of those laws in your valuable Paper, I shall not dwell upon admitted facts ; but though this restraint originated near forty years after the Revolution, it may be supposed that they were grounded and framed upon the principles of those penal laws which were passed at that period.

The annals of Ireland, however, and the Journals of Parliament, furnish no similar grounds ; the

year 1727 was distinguished by no bad designs manifested by the Catholics, though there was a war with Spain, Gibraltar was besieged, and the Dukes of Wharton and Ormond engaged in the Spanish service ; the late King succeeded his father, with the ease and tranquillity attendant upon a common, ordinary, private succession.

It has often been lamented that political arguments can seldom be reduced to a mathematical demonstration ; let us see, however, for variety, at least, whether the above statement and conclusion may not be formed into a syllogism.

To belong to, or become a part of any system, a measure must be of the same date, or be grounded upon like reasons and similar principles ; but the interdict of the Elective Franchise was not of the same date with the Protestant system at the Revolution, nor was it grounded upon similar reasons, namely, the open disaffection and evident rebellion of the Papists, and, therefore, it forms no part of the said establishment at the Revolution.

It is said, however, that, by this request, they claim the exercise of political power : this power is exercised in these kingdoms only by hereditary and temporary delegation ; but Catholics are incapable of being Members of this delegation ; therefore, while that restraint remains, while they are inadmissible in the Legislature, it cannot be argued that they can have the exercise of political power.

It is strongly urged, however, by their opponents, that the Elective Franchise would give them an influence over the representatives of the people ;
that

that it would have a tendency to remove the restraints to their admission into the Legislature: those who argue thus, seem to forget that there is a negative upon every Parliamentary proposition in the Crown and the House of Lords; but this is the fortress of their adversaries; and in stating it, I have given a full scope, and every advantage to that side of the question: upon this strong ground and formidable position, I shall only risk one observation, and it is this—that if their own voluntary declaration of last April is not valid now, if it has lost its force by time, or ceases to be obligatory by change of circumstances, that the Elective Franchise ought not to be conceded to the Catholics without a solemn ratification of that renunciation.

Thus I have laboured to prove that this request, if it should be granted, would not intrench upon the Protestant ascendancy established at the Revolution. Let me add, that its operation would be friendly to agriculture, and create a yeomanry in that country; whilst its influence upon Parliament would be distant, because, generally speaking, it would not operate till 1798, upon a general election.

After refuting the reflections on the penal code of the President Montesquieu, by deducing its necessity, from our annals, Sir William Blackstone concludes with the following remark, still more applicable to the severer system of Ireland than to that of this country:

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“ But

“But if a time (continues he) should ever arrive, and perhaps it is not very distant, when all fears of a Pretender shall have vanished, and the power and influence of the Pope shall become feeble, ridiculous, and contemptible, not only in England, but in every kingdom in Europe, it may, probably, not be amiss to review and soften those rigorous edicts; at least, till the civil principles of the Roman Catholics shall again call upon the Legislature to renew them.”

To those who carry their views beyond their own sensible horizon, and regard the daily transactions on the Continent of Europe, it may perhaps be evident that the period predicted by Sir William Blackstone is at length arrived; that those powers and titles appear now only in history, like the Witch of Endor, or the claims to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In the mean time, it must be the wish of every moderate man, of every true patriot, and real friend to the Commonwealth, that these controversies may be softened, and their consequences alleviated by just and reasonable concession; monopolies of power, like monopolies in trade, are ever injurious to a community. Sure I am, that by the admission of liberal discussion, and the statements of the grounds of arguments on both sides, you have rendered a great public service: for shall just conclusions be ultimately drawn from admitted premises, and thus shall declamation be superseded by fair reasoning.

“Fanatic

“ Fanatic violence (says a late Royal Historian) lays waste kingdoms—which might be cultivated and improved by the indulgent hand and maternal care of toleration.”

No. 12. TUESDAY, October 2, 1792.

On doit moins respecter les hommes qui périssent ; que la vérité qui ne meurt jamais.

FREDERIC LE GRAND.

HAVING, in my letters of the 20th and 25th of September, traced the two restraints under which the Catholics suffer from their origin ; having proved that the two points which they wish to carry, and for which they have associated, in order to prefer petitions to the Legislature, formed no part of the Protestant establishment at the Revolution ; that those interdicts were neither coeval with that system, nor grounded upon similar causes, or necessitated by the same reasons ; I shall now proceed to trouble you with some general remarks and conclusive observations.

Let it suffice to repeat once more, that the interdict about Juries originated in 1707,* and the

* 6th Anne, chap. 6, sect. 5.

prohibition of voting for Members of Parliament in 1727.* Touching the first question, I shall say but little on that head, as it does not form an article in the Address of the Grand Jury of Dublin to the Irish nation. This restraint was intended as a counter security to that system, known by the general name of the Popery Laws, in the Queen's reign, nine parts in ten of which have been lately repealed. Common rights and uniform privileges require similar protection, and a uniformity in jurisprudence. The great remaining restraint is that relative to the elective franchise, the rights and privileges of which depend upon another tribunal than that of Juries, and to which alone I shall devote the remainder of my speculations.

Upon a review, then, of the origin of the two restraints in question, and the actual state of the Catholics in Ireland, it is a principle which I conceive I may fairly assume, that the benefits of our happy Constitution should be extended to all the inhabitants of Ireland; that justice, expedience, benevolence, demand this extension. Unless this proposition can be controverted by the safety of the State, the principles of a particular class of men, combined with their power to injure the commonwealth—and lastly, unless internal danger, or a great external crisis, forbid this extension, to each of which terms I shall, for the sake of brevity, allot one sentence, and no more.

* 1st Geo. II. chap. 9, sect. 7.

Justice requires that those who have behaved as peaceably, with as much loyalty to the Crown and the Constitution as the Dissenters, who have given no proof of disaffection for more than a century, during which period two formidable rebellions have occurred, should be treated with equal clemency and similar indulgence; but the Dissenters of Ireland were relieved from every species of restraint in 1719,* save only the Sacramental Test, which was repealed in their favour in 1780: so that they have nothing now left to desire, no restraint to be removed; nor can imagination reach any constitutional alteration they can expect, unless it be the payment of tythes, to which they are subjected in common with the rest of their fellow-citizens.

Expedience suggests that we should give, before an over-ruling necessity destroys an obligation, by rendering a compliance with the general desire unavoidable. I do not mean to insinuate that force will ever be an auxiliary; but when men are under a just and a strong impression that their desires are reasonable, and their claims just, and influenced by a conviction that no fair arguments have been, or probably can be, stated against them, moderation will not, perhaps, always be attendant upon their councils.

With this restraint of the elective franchise, a great local hardship is combined, namely, that a

* 6th of Geo. I. chap. 5.

preference is given to Protestant farmers and tenants, merely to create a parliamentary interest, and to obtain voters. Is it necessary to dwell long upon that great political axiom, which benevolence suggests, that the tillers of the earth, whose industry feeds mankind, and who form the broad basis of the pyramid of society, should be upon an equality, and enjoy similar advantages and uniform privileges?

Internal danger cannot arise from men whose first and earnest wish is to partake of the blessings of our happy Constitution, to acquire an interest in our present establishment, who disclaim connection with promoters of innovation and parliamentary reform, that *ignis fatuus* by which political adventurers and candidates for power have deluded the populace, and endeavoured to obtain the weather-gage of a temporary and transient popularity.

Nay, admitting that their principles are the same now as they were in 1641; that time, that science, and philosophy, have wrought no change in the principles of the Catholics, with what foreign power can they now combine to endanger the Constitution, or the establishments in these countries? The claims of the Pretender sleep in oblivion, the Papal power is only to be traced in the dreams of an amphibious enthusiast, and is legible scarcely any where now, except on the penal code.

Arguments

Arguments of external danger, deduced from the example of the French Revolution, are just as broad as they are long. The conduct of a profligate faction; or of a deluded people, affords no reasons for the adoption or rejection of a constitutional measure in these kingdoms.

I say, and I repeat it emphatically, of a constitutional measure:—this restraint of the elective franchise formed no part of the system at the Revolution; it was a political excrescence; it was designed perhaps as a counter security; but the Protestant establishment existed near forty years before the restraining law was in question. If the system of the Revolution be our guide, let us revert to it as it originally stood, that till after that period the elective franchise was extended to all ranks and all classes, without any religious discrimination.

One, and only one, argument remains to be refuted; and it is the assertion, that the elective franchise will create an influence that must shortly operate against every law, and every impediment to their admission into power, after the year 1798, the period of the next General Election.

But the answer to this assertion is not difficult. Most of the cities and boroughs in Ireland are formed of Corporations that re-elect themselves, and keep up their own bodies: there are no Poor Laws in Ireland, consequently no scot and lot boroughs; I only know of the Borough of Swords, which is open to all the inhabitants, or
what

what we call pot-boilers ; but certainly there are very few of this description : in the ten northern counties it is also certain that the Protestants and Dissenters have a decisive majority ; consequently, the great influence of the Catholics, so much magnified, which it is presumed they would acquire by the elective franchise, will extend only to the remaining two and twenty counties ; and, therefore, giving this argument of their opponents its full force, an influence over forty-four Members, out of three hundred, may eventually overturn the establishment, as the Lords and the Crown will hardly venture to oppose what is required by the representatives of the people.

Thus it is that grave characters and respectable legislators amuse their fancies with conjectures and remote contingencies, setting round the fire of persecution, and closing their ranks, like the school-boys in the Spectator, while they recited the legends of their grandmothers, and tales of apparitions, from Glanville upon Witches.

Let me ask, lastly, whether the date of this restraining Act be fairly stated ? whether any reason has been assigned for its origin, save only what proceeded from private and interested motives ? And if those questions are answered, as I believe they must be, if these assertions will bear the test of inquiry, I may finally ask, whether cutting off three-fifths of the electors was not an act of power and of tyranny, unprecedented in the annals of Parliament ? And stating it thus hypothetically, I appeal to the common sense of mankind,

mankind, and to that great principle to which all human inquiries must ultimately result, that intuitive sense of truth, which seems to be placed by Providence in the heart of man.

How far these truths may be acceptable to the powerful, is of little concern to me—a lasting and durable principle ought not to be sacrificed at the altar of caprice. That man must be young, indeed, in this old world, and far less acquainted than I have been with the ill-timed ingratitude of Princes, the petty chicane and flimsy deceit of their favourites, to sacrifice an eternal principle to such deceitful, transitory, and momentary considerations.

Happy are those who make this principle, the love of truth, and the conviction of general welfare, their Polar Star, to guide them through a political tempest, created to obstruct reasonable desires and moderate requisitions, and to resist pacifying measures by the artifices of the cunning monopolist of power, or by the ignorant enthusiasm of deluded men.

No. 13. SATURDAY, October 20, 1792.

Ubi solitudinem faciant, pacem appellant.

TACITUS.

I F I hazarded, in a former letter, an expression that the present formidable combination, if it was persevered in, would only serve to build a splendid mausoleum for regal power in Europe, which has been noticed by your Correspondent CASSANDRA, it was not an hasty opinion; nor can I consider that I am justified merely by subsequent events, or right, by chance alone.

Fully apprized, by long and fatal experience, how much easier it is to delude than to undeceive mankind, I know well that it is a difficult and arduous enterprize to oppose favourite hopes, which have been adopted rather from a fond imagination than a sound judgment.

That opinion was built upon the strength of the French frontier; from the length of line upon which the Combined Armies must act; upon the vast equipages that must attend them, where the inhabitants were more hostile than even the army of Dumourier; the difficulties of supply, and the scarcity of forage, added to the uniform success which has attended the French in their attacks upon Austrian Flanders, since the days of Cardinal Richelieu.

If the force of Europe, combined by the sagacity of Temple, in the Triple Alliance, acting defensively, could hardly preserve that country from Louis the XIVth, it cannot be forgotten that all the victories of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, the abilities of the greatest Generals, the strength of the most formidable countries, and all the victories of ten successful campaigns, brought the Allies no farther than Landrecy, a fortress not above thirty miles distant from the Austrian frontiers.

If this was the case, under such Generals, I do not see at this period, either in the combination of force, or in the abilities of the present Leaders, any reason that should change or alter the advantages which they naturally possess. Laudohn is no more; and Prince Henry does not lead the Prussian army. If Frederic the Great conducted the arms of Brandenburg to victory and glory, his confidential Ministers, his literary friends, his executors, and his Generals, have given way to courtiers and visionaries, and Prussia now is but the *magni nominis umbra*.

In whatever light we view the principles or conduct of the French Republicans, certain it is that they have had rapid and extensive success in their military enterprises. Perhaps there is some latent power in the human mind, called out by great revolutions, whose agency and power, like that of Steam, is yet unknown, and its extent unexplored even by philosophers. Something of this *impetus* existed after the extra-

vagance and fanaticism of our civil wars; and Cardinal Mazarin, who experienced the effects, called Cromwell a fortunate madman.

In this great vortex of contending powers, happy is it for England that she is not yet, nor will she probably be involved, if the good sense of the community should have its due weight; we may lament the fate of the Royal sufferers—we may regret that licentiousness and anarchy prevail in a great country, where a rational government and well-adapted constitution might have bestowed the blessings of freedom. These political convulsions we may lament, like the earthquakes and convulsions of nature in Calabria; but we should remember, that rushing into their assistance, in either case, would only add new victims to a great catastrophe: if hundreds have fallen in the streets of Paris, thousands of auxiliaries have perished in the desert plains of Champagne.

Of all the Combined Powers there is only one, perhaps, who could wage a successful war against France; and you will smile, when I name her—it is Spain: I do not mean by a military aggression, but (if I may use the phrase) by a commercial war; much of the French wealth and commerce depend upon that country; by forming commercial alliances with England, mutual and reciprocal advantages might be created; perhaps, it might be the only certain method of preserving her Trans-Atlantic colonies—those colonies, the separation of which forms a part of that system, or *plan of conduct*, recommended, it
is

is said, to France, by a very able, extensive, and enlightened traveller.*

Of the consequences of the present war—of the probable events, which may arise from the present German combination, I cannot presume to say much: matters of such political extent and magnitude, it may be well supposed, are beyond the reach of an humble and obscure individual. It may be allowed to a well-wisher to humanity, to pause upon the late fruitless devastation of the capital of French Flanders, and the fate of the inhabitants of Lisle; to deprecate the unnecessary horrors of war; to hope that the allies will not adopt that opinion which the Roman historian, in the motto to this Essay, ascribes to their German ancestors—that peace can be effected by desolation.

NO. 14. WEDNESDAY, *October* 31, 1792.

Natura paucos facit artifices, multos judices.

THE sentence which I have adopted for a motto occurs somewhere in Mr. Locke's writings, though I now forget the place: it is a device upon

* General Miranda,

a celebrated

a celebrated clock at Strasbourg. The great philosopher applies it as an antidote to the vanity of criticism, since nature has been prodigal in the production of critics, and economical in the formation of artists.

Various have been the conjectures upon the late celebrated retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, as military men can no longer consider it as a great instance of generalship, or compare it with the retreat of the ten thousand under Xenophon, who has described that expedition, which he himself principally conducted: they wish to regard it in another point of view, and consider it as a diplomatic arrangement between Prussia and France.

Waving considerations which are so injurious to the good faith and fair dealing of that Prince, what has happened appears, when viewed through the ordinary medium of common-sense and admitted maxims, to be the necessary result of the conduct of the leader of the Prussian army.

The late King of Prussia in his Maxims, speaking of the defects and advantages of his troops, says, that they require infinite attention from their commanders; and that it is particularly requisite that they should be better subsisted than almost any other troops in Europe. But marching through a province proverbially sterile, rich only in the production of grapes, which brought on a fatal dysentery, was surely not consonant to the construction of that army,

or to the rules of the great founder of that discipline.

It appears also extremely problematical that the Duke of Brunswick, with the advantage of a river, and a fine vein of country all the way to Paris, through an abundant vale on the banks of the Marne, should go to the right, and traverse a country which had none of those advantages, particularly that of a navigable stream. "Without the command of a river, (says Frederic the Great) there cannot be plenty in a camp."

In the Maxims before cited, the late King condemns winter campaigns; and justifies his conduct in this particular in the Silesian war by necessity alone; and it is a remark well worthy of attention, that Frederic's campaigns about that period were commenced in the middle of winter, and not in the autumn—the period of the equinox, it is well known, being remarkably unfavourable to men, and still more to horses.

Having, therefore, considered this enterprize, and compared it with those celebrated Maxims, I cannot help considering what has happened as the necessary result of a deviation from those rules and the product of indifcretion; and I shall conclude this article with the opinion of the late General Lloyd, author of the Prussian Military System, one of the greatest writers upon castles which this or, perhaps, any other country has produced.

The

“ The Prussian army, being composed chiefly
“ of strangers of different countries, manners,
“ and religion, are united only by the strong
“ chain of military discipline; this, and a most
“ rigid attention to keep up all the forms and
“ established discipline, constitutes a vast and
“ regular machine, which being animated by
“ the vigorous and powerful genius of their
“ leader, may be justly accounted one of the
“ most respectable armies in Europe; but should
“ this spring languish for an instant only, the
“ machine itself, composed of such heterogeneous
“ matter, would probably fall to pieces,
“ and leave nothing but the traces of its former
“ glory behind.”

Having learned, from the surest guides, from practice and experience, that all military aggression is fruitless—that the first troops and the most renowned generals now in Europe, can make no impression nor create any alteration in the state of France; it remains for us to offer a few conjectures upon the subject, to consider in what light we should view the French Revolution, and the confusion and anarchy which prevail in that country.

Political storms are generated in nations like tempests in the atmosphere; the annihilation of government and of long-established systems, produce violent exertions and powerful contests to fill up the vacancy which must necessarily ensue, by some other constitution. Thus philosophers tell us that winds and hurricanes are generated
by

by the rarefaction of the atmosphere, and the efforts of the cold and dense air to replace it, to fill the vacuum, and to restore a due equilibrium.

This metaphor will bear a strong and useful application; external efforts will only serve to increase the ferment; intellectual, like natural storms, must take their course; the exertions of foreign nations to stop a violent internal commotion would be similar to an attempt to bridle the tempest, or to arrest the progress of the waves. The language of sycophants and courtiers about the power of regal combinations and French crusades, to stop the present convulsion, should be viewed and treated in the style and manner of Canute the Great, when he placed his throne on the sea-coast, and rebuked the flattery of his courtiers.

This great event should operate in other countries, by timely admonition, and induce a reformation of wanton waste and idle dissipation, in those of high rank, a reform of real grievances and acknowledged abuses; it should create propriety in the conduct of the great; and give ease and contentment to the basis of society, to the great mass and body of the people. Thus the parody may be still continued: this political storm may cleanse the atmosphere of many gross vapours in the different Governments in Europe, and general good may be derived from a partial evil.

It was late in the reign of King William, in the Treaty of Ryswick, and afterwards by the Partition Treaty, that a system, or a humour, prevailed

here, to form combinations to regulate regal successions, and the internal arrangements and constitutions of other countries.

Upon this subject, a great diplomatic writer* makes a most sagacious observation, that, instead of desiring the guarantee of France, and of other countries, in 1697, for the Act of Settlement; it would have been wiser, and far more becoming the dignity of England, to have inserted an article in that Treaty, containing a condemnation of the interference of States in the internal affairs and domestic arrangements of their neighbours.

Of the real grievances of the State, happy is it for this country that few can be enumerated, none to which the Legislature cannot give a full and competent redress. Agriculture might be greatly increased by a fair equivalent for tythes, and the plough and the pulpit would be no longer at war; ease and comfort might be given to the people by remedies against monopolizers and forestallers; while the causes of poverty might be removed by a different mode of providing for the poor, and idleness might be checked, as in Holland, by houses of industry.

By renewing the true and genuine system of the Revolution—by repealing certain laws in 1707, 1727, and 1745—by granting the Elective Franchise to the bulk of the inhabitants of Ireland, confirmed to them by that great event, and which they were deprived of near forty years after that æra of civil and religious liberty, a large body of

* The Abbé Mably.

auxiliaries would be acquired in favour of the present Constitution ; while all desires and all combinations of sects and parties for reforms and innovations in that kingdom would be restrained, and, perhaps, annihilated.

In a word, while only some few grievances shall be unredressed, the people of these kingdoms have too much good sense not to see the schemes of Parliamentary Reformers in a just light, to view them as mere political manoeuvres to obtain power, by getting the weather-gage of a delusive and transitory popularity. While the Constitution is preserved in its genuine vigour, no man, with a glimmering of political science, can wish to introduce scenes of anarchy and confusion in the place of order, of government, and of real freedom ; the system of a chimerical equality, for a system of rational and just subordination ; and the effort of any visionary, who should attempt to recommend it, would be considered, by the thinking part of the community, like the conduct of the traveller, who presented a fragment of lava to a society of anti-quarians, hoping by a chemical analysis, to ascertain its composition, that the principle might be propagated, and that we might have the advantage of volcanos and burning mountains in England.

No. 15. TUESDAY, November 29, 1792.

On doit tout faire *pour* le peuple, & rien *par* le peuple.

LA ROCHEFAUCAULD.

IF it was the wish and desire of wise men in the last age to govern their conduct, and form their principles upon the experience of their predecessors, and to frame their governments upon the principles of science and philosophy, it appears to be the fancy of the present period to set experience totally aside; to consider the knowledge contained in books as mere lumber, and maxims approved by time as prejudices; to dazzle the populace with splendid novelties, and to confound the reasoning of experienced politicians by the random speculations of ignorant reformers.

It is true, every age has produced beings of this description, who have had a transitory, a partial success. Jacob Behmen was more enlightened than the most learned divines in one age; and the Hutchinsonians knew more of natural philosophy than Newton in another; but the reign of those mountebanks was but short: in our days, their predominance seems to be more considerable, their designs more enlarged, their influence more extensive, and THE NEW IS TO REGENERATE THE OLD WORLD, under the auspices of Mr. Paine.

Awar

Aware that ignorance would vent its spleen sooner or later, against knowledge, the Romans allowed servants to indulge their fancy in a certain part of December by sarcasms against their masters. One of the greatest wits of the Augustan age has preserved one of these pasquinades against himself,* which from the festival observed at that time, was called Saturnalia, in which every comment was tolerated that could be invented by licentiousness.

The Saturnalia of Paine (for in this light I have always considered his *Essays*) have certainly much plausibility, much novelty, and ingenuity, and consequently entertainment; and, like those pasquinades amongst the ancients, there is some truth mixed with falsehood, as must be the case in every general satire, since no human character or institution is exempted from blemishes and imperfections.

Of all the assertions which have lately appeared, which would appear to be only a ludicrous paradox, if it was not gravely insisted upon, the most extraordinary is this: that though we have laws, yet we have no constitution; that for ages we have been in an error; and that we have confounded our system of laws with a constitution founded upon the supposed consent of the people; but which cannot be proved to have ever been obtained in England.

* Horace, Lib. II. Sat. 7.

To prove this paradox, it is said, that the mass or body of the people should meet—possibly in Salisbury Plain; or some other wide district—and prescribe certain general rules for a legislature, and a mode of general representation; without which necessary preliminary they are not governed by a system of their own choice, which alone creates a constitution; and consequently that they have not the advantage of the common club, or the most ordinary convivial society.

Though I own I think the answer to this paradox is not difficult, yet I have not had the good fortune to see it fairly met and fully refuted; and if it had not been repeated, and gained proselytès, possibly it would not be worthy of refutation.

But as this doctrine continues still to make some way, through the aid of the French Revolutionists, I shall trouble you with some remarks upon the ancient state of our Parliamentary representation; hoping that it may lead our reformers to take the trouble of inquiring into the original dispositions and arrangements of that edifice which they design to rebuild; that my conjectures on this subject may be superseded by better information; or that, if I am justifiable in my opinions, that they may not restrain that constitutional liberty which they profess to enlarge.

If we can discover in any country a system of representation, in which the great districts were enjoined to send Members to a general Council of the State, while the sub-divisions, towns or boroughs, were desired to send deputies at their discretion,

cretion, as expedience should require, or according to their ability to support them; we should pronounce, without hesitation, that a representation, founded originally upon such an unrestrained consent and free choice, was free in every sense; and that imagination could not devise a system where freedom and general liberty was more consulted.

I say, and I repeat it emphatically, that if the people of England were to be convened on Salisbury Plain, and if it were practicable to collect the sense of such an assembly, that a system of Representation could not be devised which had more the spirit of general freedom than that which enjoined the deputation of Members from each county, and from every small district or collection of houses in that county, as their circumstances, prudence, or discretion should require.

This assertion I shall assume as an admitted truth, and endeavour to apply it to the case of our Parliamentary representation as it originally stood.

The first time that the boroughs were enjoined to send Members to Parliament, was in the year 1295, the twenty-third of Edward the First, before which period the counties alone were represented.

The writ which was sent to the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, after the usual preamble, enjoined him to send two knights from the county positively; two citizens from any city, and two burghesses from any borough that chose to be represented in that district.

The

The words are, *Duos militus de quolibet civitate, ejusdem comitatus, & duos Burgenſes de quolibet burgo, &c.* I am ſorry to take up a part of your valuable Paper by a verbal criſicifm; but the word *quolibet* may be fairly tranſlated, any city or borough that thinks proper to be repreſented, a ſenſe which may be ſtill farther proved by ſubſequent obſervations.

In the 26th year of Edward the Firſt, the Sheriff of Buckinghamſhire, after returning two knights for that county, answers to the writ, that there was no city or borough in that diſtrict who were able to ſend Members to Parliament.

And in the 30th of Edward the Third, the Sheriff of Lancaſhire, after the return of knights for that county, gives this reaſon why citizens and burgeſſes were not uſually ſent, nor ought to be ſummoned to Parliament; and that was on account of the towns of that diſtrict being too poor to pay their wages, and ſupport the expence of Parliamentary Representatives.

I perceive that I have been inſenſibly led into a detail of precedents, which would exceed, if it was continued, the uſual bounds of theſe Eſſays. I ſhall content myſelf with this general aſſertion, that our Parliamentary Representation was originally founded on common conſent—was continued by the general acquieſcence of the people—that counties were obliged to ſend Members; and the cities and boroughs at their own diſcretion, according to their own uſages, and local charters or conſtitutions; and for the truth of this aſſertion,

tion, I appeal to one of our ablest writers on this subject,* a treatise of acknowledged ability, and I accompany this observation with a reference.

If, then, it be true, that our Representation was founded upon common consent, and the free choice of the people, to send Representatives in their own way to Parliament, I cannot conceive that dividing the country into squares, or areas, or circles, or new-modelling the elections of boroughs, by certain mathematical proportions, borrowed from French geography, can add any thing to our constitutional freedom, since nothing can be more free than general consent and common choice—whether a reform be of American or French manufacture, whether it proceeds from the Minister or from an Oppositionist—from a Legislator or an Empiric—a Gascoigne or a Hotspur; certain it is, that a reform coming from any of those quarters would be a substitution of the opinions of a foreign nation, or the imaginations of individuals in the place of a system which has been originally chosen, and continued by the sanction of the people of England.

* History of Boroughs, by Dr. Brady, p. 54.

No. 16. TUESDAY, December 4, 1792.

On doit tout faire *pour* le peuple, & rien *par* le peuple.

LA ROCHEFAUCAULD.

WHY the counties of England are unequal, what the original reason of this unequal division was, probably cannot now be traced, no more than the causes of the different provincial dialects which prevail in this kingdom: possibly they arose from the limits and subdivisions of the Heph-tarchy; and men that have been used to particular customs find it to be their interest to remain under the same combinations. The same rule may be applied to smaller districts, towns or boroughs, whose modes of election cannot now be altered without a violation of usages, which, by a length of time, have grown into rights and privileges.

I cannot conceive that any wise country would take away any rights or privileges upon a pre-conception or prejudice that men under particular descriptions would violate their trust; it will be time enough to disfranchise when malversation is actually proved; and here let it be remembered that there is a principle of reform actually existing in this country, wise, just, and gradual—I mean the principle of extending the right of election where boroughs have been proved guilty
of

of notorious corruption : such a principle, I believe, obtained soon after the Revolution in the case of one borough ; and in our own days, in the case of Shoreham and of Cricklade.

But I own, I think some regulations might now be adopted, which would not injure, but restore our invaluable Constitution to its primitive excellence and genuine purity, though they would not answer the purposes of political malcontents and Gallic levellers.

The first would be that of registers, of ascertaining the rights of election, and rendering contests less expensive by concurrent polls in populous, or polls in different parts of extended districts ; under which head the case of Westminster is most conspicuous, where the parochial registers have not as yet a legal sanction, to answer the purpose of a fair evidence and just criterion to decide the rights of election.

Before the enlargement of the number of Representatives is brought into debate, it seems natural to enforce the attendance of the existing Members, as in ancient times, by fines, or other coercive methods ; but the shortest rule to carry this point might possibly be to enlarge the quorum which makes a House, from forty to two hundred.

The burthen of public business might be more equally shared between the two Houses, and the Aristocracy might derive a degree of credit, by originating certain bills, which, from the aid of

the Judges, comes more within their sphere; and public consequence might be thus gained from the utility of their exertions, which cannot ever be obtained by a *vis inertiae*.

If the great manufacturing towns, as Leeds, Sheffield, or Birmingham, &c. should desire it, (which might or might not be the case) I own I think they ought to be enabled to send Representatives to Parliament, to superintend their interests; it would certainly be agreeable to the principles of the Constitution; and I believe Durham was thus enabled to send Members, by an Act of Parliament, in the middle of the last century.

But whatever is, or may be, in contemplation, I must deprecate, with every good member of society, plans of government or of representation from France; even if erroneous opinions and absurd prejudices should predominate; I should remind the people that we had errors of our own, and that we need not have recourse to those of French manufacture; better assuredly, and more plausible, at least, are the projects of Cromwell, or the dreams of Harrington, than those of our light-headed and frivolous neighbours.

Let me ask whether any system of government can be more romantic or extravagant, or any representation more wild, than that where the governed one day may be the governors of the next; where the whole Parliament is ineligible
after

after two years, and where inexperience is thus systematically established.

Let me ask of the electors of this metropolis, whether they would chuse to be on the footing of those of Paris, where they have seventy-two ballots for polls, in the course of two years, for Members of Parliament alone, without reckoning those for Mayors, Justices, Curates, Bishops, &c.

This may appear to be an extravagant assertion to those who have not visited that capital, but the proof is not difficult; for Paris, there are twenty-four Members—they ballot for only one at a time, in a church; as every elector may propose a candidate, they have a second, and then a third ballot, to bring to an issue between A. and B. who have the greatest number of suffrages in the first ballot; so that the electors of Paris, who have no recompense, nor even refreshment for their trouble, are continually taken up, and constantly occupied in elections.

No. 17. FRIDAY, December 7, 1792.

On doit tout faire *pour* le peuple, & rien *par* le peuple.

LA ROCHEFAUCAULD.

THE schemes of Parliamentary Reform in Ireland might be effectually checked by extending the Elective Franchise to the bulk of the inhabitants of that country. Having troubled you with three letters in September, upon the claims of the Irish Catholics, I shall dwell no longer upon a subject which is now well understood. They certainly have gained a victory, by closing with their opponents upon their own ground. The Grand Juries in Ireland say, support the system established at the Revolution. The Catholics may well hold the same language, since they were Jurors and Electors not only in 1692, the date of the first Irish Parliament in the reign of King William, but for many years after that period. To grant the Catholics what they have petitioned for, would be to revert to the system of the Revolution.

I do not indiscriminately condemn the new constitution in France, with fiery zealots of Toryism in this country, who have written upon measures which they never experienced, and upon effects which they never saw; nay more, in one most important reform, I think they have
surpassed

surpassed this country. I mean in the article of general arbitration extending to all cases, by which litigations are prevented, and law-suits will be reduced, perhaps, to a fifth part of the usual number, let interested chicanery say what it will upon the glorious uncertainty of the law.

Common feeling and common sense will decide that law-suits and lawyers are the greatest grievances in this country; their tediousness has long been, and justly, complained of; and if authority is wanting, the Parliamentary labours of Lord Somers are the best comments upon this subject.

But I perceive I have unwarily digressed; all that I wish to dwell upon is, to deprecate schemes of Parliamentary Reform adopted from France. Before I have done, let me advert to that argument of which Reformists have been, and are, so very tenacious, namely, that we have no Constitution in this country. It has happened to many, I make no doubt, as well as myself, in the course of common conversation at Paris, and even in this country, to hear this doctrine gravely asserted. The mode of carrying on the argument is pleasant, and its description may, perhaps, enliven a grave subject.

The outlines of the French Constitution have been published in a little book, which is sold for three-pence. This they consider as the original compact; and the friends of that system, and of its adoption in this country, generally produce this little work, in the course of their arguments, and ask whether we can shew such an original compact,

compact, or Constitution? If it should be replied, that our Constitution is to be traced in the Statute Book, or in Blackstone, &c. they reply, by admitting that we have laws, but that we cannot prove that we had a compact founded on general consent, similar to theirs; which should have preceded our laws.

Now as this paradox, however whimsical, has certainly gained proselytes; I should propose, through the medium of your valuable Paper, that it should be met in their own way.

I should wish that an abstract of the leading principles of our Constitution; should be drawn up in a short and easy manner, and rendered familiar for the use of children. This might be rendered cheap, and dispersed like the cheap edition of the French Constitution: and thus one childish argument might be met by another.

Dr. Trusler's abridgments of many useful works furnish plans for such a sketch of epitome: few writers deserve consideration and preferment more than this gentleman does; if the dissemination of useful knowledge be meritorious; and he would thus add one to the many services he has rendered to the public and to the rising generation.

To conclude, the maxim of a great French Patriot, an admired writer, and a sagacious philosopher, which has been chosen as a motto to this Essay, has been neglected by that nation; happy would it have been for France, had the ruling Powers done every thing to serve the people, without using them as an instrument to effect a Revolution,

lution, and bribing them to their own destruction; instead of discharging their debts, which they might have effected by the sale of the church lands, they have increased the national incumbrance; quieted the people by a temporary suspension of taxes, and amused them with metaphysical and impracticable systems of Government.

The sum and substance of what I should be happy to convey to the people is this: that we have a Constitution; that that system is most invaluable, because it is founded originally on general consent; and is guaranteed by continued acquiescence: and if, to follow the imagination of speculative theorists, the body of the people were assembled in a great plain, the Chief, or President, of such an assembly, (call him by what title you please) could not make a proposition more consonant to the general wish, or agreeable to genuine liberty, than that the great districts should send Members to Parliament, and the smaller ones should be represented also, if they thought proper, in their own way, and according to their own choice, customs, and usages.

In a word, the preservation of our Constitution in its original purity, is the true reform, and the most consonant to just, rational, and comprehensive ideas of liberty. So well-founded was that eulogium which Algernon Sydney ascribed to one of the greatest of our monarchs in his last moments—"That he left the English Constitution as he had found it, free as the internal thoughts of a man."

No. 18. MONDAY, *January 7, 1793.*

Tros Tyriusve mihi, nullo discrimine habetur.

VIRGIL.

I HAVE lately observed, with much pleasure, some detached articles, relative to the requests of the Irish Catholics, in your valuable Paper; but as they are briefly, and, therefore, rather obscurely expressed, I shall trouble you with some remarks, in addition to those Essays upon the subject in the month of September; and upon a Parliamentary Reform just before the meeting of a Great Assembly. I shall labour to be brief, and endeavour to confine myself to one consideration, the relative situation of the Catholic voters in England and in Ireland.

In England, by a law passed about the year 1696, the oaths of allegiance, of abjuration, and of supremacy, may be tendered to all persons who offer to vote at elections, on penalty of rejection. These prescriptions are repeated and enforced in a variety of laws, too numerous to recite; but it is to be observed, that the declaration made and signed by Members of Parliament in both kingdoms, when they take their seats, is not enjoined to be taken in any of those laws by voters at elections.

By a law passed in the first Irish Parliament after the Hanover Succession, in 1716, Papists who
shall

shall vote are required to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration six months before, or at the election, if required, under a penalty of 100*l.* recoverable upon a *Qui Tam* action, if they should vote contrary to the prescriptions of this law.

Thus the regulations about Papist-voters stood in both kingdoms originally; by which it appears, that they were, till near forty years after the Revolution, nearly similar: I think even before the Reformation it might be proved that many Catholics did, and could, consistently with their tenets and principles, take the oaths against the Pope's supremacy: but that inquiry would exceed the bounds of this Essay.

It will be sufficient for my purpose to assert, that if Catholics would take the oaths of allegiance, of abjuration, and supremacy, they might vote in England; and that till the year 1727 it was sufficient to take them in the manner above recited in Ireland, in order to enable them to vote at elections, with the exception of the oath of supremacy, which last made the essential difference in the qualification of voters in the two kingdoms.

Thus I have laboured to prove that the situation of the Roman Catholics was originally similar in these kingdoms: I shall, therefore, assume these premises as conceded, and build this subsequent argument upon them, that a compliance with the request of the Catholics in Ireland, viz. a repeal of the restrictions since 1727, would put

them upon the same situation nearly in England and in Ireland.

The two clauses which they have requested to be repealed was a law in 1727, containing a general prohibition of Catholics voting for Members of Parliament, and certain words which were added to the Freeholders oath in 1745, by which voters were to swear, " That they were neither Papists nor married to Papists, nor did they educate their children as such."

If, therefore, these prohibitions were removed, they would then vote, taking the oaths prescribed by the law in 1716, which was only farther enforced, but not altered, and still remains upon the Statute Book; but the prescriptions of that law were nearly similar to those relative to Catholic voters at the time of the Revolution in England, which are still in force; and, therefore, it follows, as a necessary precaution, that voters of that persuasion would then be in a similar situation nearly in England and in Ireland.

A farther advantage would arise from the Catholics voting under the law in 1716; that their taking the oaths six months before the election would operate as a register of voters of that persuasion; and if it should be extended, or, in plainer terms, if all persons were enjoined to qualify in the same manner, it would operate as a general registry of all the electors in the kingdom; a measure so often recommended, so necessary and useful, but which from a want of due notoriety,

tority, or promulgation of the laws, has hitherto been unsuccessful.

It would be superfluous to dwell upon the obvious advantages of this concession; the important consequences of obtaining the majority of the inhabitants of Ireland as auxiliaries to the present system, established at the Revolution; to take bail and solemn engagements of their fidelity to the Crown and the Constitution.

Thus I have laboured, in the course of these Essays, to throw every light upon this subject, aware that just minds will ever draw fair conclusions from statements faithfully submitted to their inspection, where laborious investigation is directed by candour and by truth.

Nor do I repent of my industry, having ever found those of that persuasion to be honourable, and consequently grateful—Virtues which, it is too true, I have not discovered in those who occupy primary and more illustrious situations. But the present period affords more useful lessons than any which can occur to an obscure individual; every day produces events which engage the general attention—events which concern those principally who are in the highest situations, since the tempest spares the humble shrub, but levels the pride of the forest.

No. 19. TUESDAY, *January 22, 1793.*

*Salus & cœlum in HIBERNIA, haud multum à BRITANNIA differt,
melius aditus, portusque per negotiatores cogniti.*

TACITUS.

AS few undertakings have answered better, in all respects, than the packets between Milford Haven and Waterford, I trouble you with some remarks upon that subject, as the communication with the south of Ireland is still capable of great improvements.

To facilitate and shorten the correspondence between Waterford and Cork, a bridge would be necessary over the Suir at the former place; this, from the depth and breadth of that river, which are similar to that of the Thames at Blackfriars, has been regarded, till lately, as a chimerical project; but subscriptions, to a considerable amount, have been recently made for this purpose. Possibly the erection of a bridge upon the common plan might be impracticable, though one projected upon the scheme of the famous bridge of boats at Rouen, or of the wooden bridge at Derry,* in both which places the rivers are far more considerable, might answer; or the substitution of one of those machines, in the place of the present

* The bridge at Londonderry was built by an American projector for 10,000*l.*—the timber was brought from Boston.

very

very inconvenient ferry-boats which are used on the Rhine, and which transport the largest wag-gons at Wesel, Cologne, and Coblenz, and other parts of Germany.

The communication between Waterford and Cork might be shortened near thirty English miles, by making a new road from Mullinevat to Nine-mile House, on the great north and south road between Cork and Dublin. This might be effected by the judicious expenditure of twelve or fourteen hundred pounds at the utmost, as materials are excellent and commodious, and a mail-coach might be established on this road instead of making a circuitous course by Kilkenny, and save above half a day's journey between Cork and Waterford.

Thus a direct communication would be opened between this capital and the principal town in the south of Ireland, the great emporium of the provision trade, of great consequence at all times, but particularly in war, where the navigation would not be interrupted by bars, or tide-harbours, nor the roads in South Wales, or in Ireland, rendered incommodious by ferries, or by a mountainous country, as is the case in the journey to Dublin, through North Wales.

This observation, however, applies to a direct communication through Gloucester and Ross to Milford. Why the mail-coach at present crosses the Severn, at a very inconvenient ferry at the passage near Bristol, I could never discover; but suppose it to be owing to some private job, or
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some particular and selfish, or mere local convenience.

The exertions of the gentlemen in South Wales will, probably, soon complete the road, and improve the inns in the communication through Gloucester to Milford; and it will certainly amply recompense all the trouble and expense attendant upon this undertaking.

The roads in those districts, as well as the turnpikes all over England, are, however, capable of great improvement; whenever carriages shall be constructed upon true mathematical principles, and contrived so as to meliorate and to benefit, and not to injure the roads, which is far from being the case at present in England, and still less in Ireland; and I have often heard, from able and scientific men, what I am inclined to believe to be true, that our systems of turnpike and road laws, with regard to waggons and stage-coaches, were formed upon erroneous principles; licensing carriages which injured the roads, by limiting the weight of those with broad wheels, which were intended for their preservation.

But this consideration might extend too far; suffice it to observe briefly, that the dimensions of all carriages, their height, breadth, and proportion, and of their wheels or rollers also, the elevation or angle of the draft, the best construction for the preservation of the roads, the most advantageous mode of harnessing horses, &c. are all capable of being ascertained, with that precision, certainty, and accuracy, which we search in vain
in

in other sciences; but which are to be obtained only by experiments on models of carriages, and by calculations grounded upon the application of mathematical principles.

To conclude, the observation of the Roman historian, the motto of this Essay, that the climate and soil of England and of Ireland were similar, but that the harbours of the latter were better, applies more particularly to the ports of Cork and Waterford; by judicious arrangements, by facility of communication, their advantages may be reciprocally beneficial; and London will become eventually the center of intelligence, of correspondence, and of exchange, and, in a word, the capital of the south of Ireland,

No. 20. SATURDAY, *January 26, 1793.*

——— *Extrema per illos
Justitia excedens terribis, vestigia fecit.*

VIRGIL.

HAVING lately read, with much pleasure, a vindication of the conduct and principles of the Irish Catholics, I shall trouble you with a short abstract of an authentic document, to which they have referred in their petition to the Throne, but

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which

which they have not given among the proofs in their Appendix.

After stating the resolutions of several Grand Juries and County Meetings, particularly those of Limerick, where a great Law Officer appeared in person to countenance that Association, and of Louth, where the first Commoner in Ireland presided, they proceed to describe their ancient rights, as they were established in 1691, by the Treaty of Limerick.

It were to be wished they had published this Treaty in their compilation, which consists of thirteen articles. As it now a scarce document, of the existence and ratification of which, as well as of its extent, some persons have even entertained doubts. As much may turn hereafter upon that Treaty, I shall trouble you with an abstract of it as it is recorded by Dr. Leland.

First. The Roman Catholics of Ireland shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they enjoyed in the reign of King Charles the Second; and their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit, shall summon a Parliament in this kingdom, and will endeavour to procure for them such farther security in that Parliament as may preserve them from disturbance on account of religion.

Secondly. The inhabitants of Limerick, commissioned by King James, who shall submit and take the oath of allegiance established in England
in

in 1689, shall enjoy their properties as in the days of King Charles the Second.

The third and fourth articles comprise merchants of the town, and four officers of the town, who were absent.

The fifth and sixth articles grant a general amnesty, and annul law-suits on account of the war.

By the seventh article, those who are comprised in this Treaty may ride with swords and pistols, and have arms in their houses for sporting and protection; and by the eighth article, the inhabitants of Limerick may remove their goods, paying legal customs, &c.

The ninth article is very important; it enjoins that the oath established in England in 1689, shall be administered to the Catholics, and no other; and by the tenth article, persons who break this convention shall not injure those who observe it.

By the eleventh and twelfth articles, the Lords Justices promise their endeavours to obtain a security from arrests for persons concerned during eight months, and a ratification from their Majesties within that period.

The last article relates to certain debts and engagements of Colonel Brown and Lord Lucan, and is altogether of a private nature.

This is a faithful abridgment of this celebrated Treaty, which was signed by three on the part of the King, and on the part of the Catholics by seven commissioners; it was witnessed also by King William's Generals, who commanded at that siege,

and ratified in about a month, under the great seals of England and Ireland; in the usual form.

It is not my design to enter into many subsequent infractions of this Treaty, which was, some years afterwards, narrowed and circumscribed, instead of being extended or strengthened by the authority of Parliament, nor to enter into restraints and innovations which took place at a late period about Juries, and the exercise of the Elective Franchise, nor to repeat arguments and statements which are now so well known.

By this Treaty, Catholics were entitled to all privileges, in common with other subjects of Ireland, save only that of sitting in Parliament—a restraint which depended upon transactions antecedent to the Revolution, the relation of which cannot be comprized within the bounds of this Essay: it is only mentioned here, as it naturally leads to a contemporary comment upon the spirit and meaning of this Treaty by the first assembly in this country.

It may appear extraordinary at first sight, that the garrison of Limerick should make stipulations for all the Catholics of Ireland; but the history of that period, as well as the preamble of that Treaty, inform us that it was made in behalf of the inhabitants of six counties, viz. Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, Mayo, and Limerick, that the Government wished to close the war, lest it should be protracted like Tyrone's rebellion, in the reign of Elizabeth, by more powerful foreign aid, by the arms of Louis the Fourteenth. This Treaty was,

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therefore,

therefore, signed on the 3d of October, 1691 : in consequence of it, not only the garrison of Limerick, but also the popish inhabitants of Ireland, laid down their arms ; and the following transaction, soon after, shews the true meaning of this Treaty ; the general and extensive construction which was given to it by the Lords of England.

Previous to the calling of an Irish Parliament, it was thought expedient to pass a law in the English Legislature, ordaining certain oaths to be taken by Irish Members, which has ever since been a necessary qualification ; this law having extended these oaths to Barristers in Ireland, the Lords amended the Bill,* by leaving out that clause, considering it to be contrary to the Treaty of Limerick, which prescribed only a short oath to be generally administered to all subjects, in the first year after the Revolution.

It would be unnecessary to dwell upon this transaction, farther than to mark the opinion of that body of the value and extent of this Treaty ; neither have I room here to enlarge upon this subject, or upon the plausible reason of a great Lawyer, which it is said, prevailed upon them to relinquish their amendment. This circumstance was not mentioned in the debate last Session, though the admission of Catholics to the Irish bar was restoring them to a right of which they had been unjustly deprived at this

* Nov. 16, 1691. Lords Journals, v. xiv. p. 646.

period, according to the opinion in 1691 of the House of Lords of England.

To conclude; the good faith, the regard to the honour of their Sovereign—of the Government—of the English nation, which was manifested by the Lords at that period, reflects the greatest honour upon that body. The reference with which I accompany this relation is, perhaps, the most brilliant page in their voluminous records; and that eulogium which the Roman Poet bestows upon a country life in the primitive ages, may, with a strict regard to truth, be applied, upon this transaction, to the conduct of that Assembly.

NO. 21. MONDAY, *February 4, 1793.*

*Hæc tibi erunt artes ! pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.*

VIRGIL.

OF the hardships of which the Roman Catholics have complained, in their late petition to the Throne, those which relate to the Elective Franchise, to Juries, to Corporations, to foundations of schools, to admission into colleges, and to the army and navy, are admitted to be existing restraints and prohibitions.

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The other allegations, relative to using arms, and the disabilities that parents are subjected to, whose children are converts from Popery, under a law of the 2d of Queen Anne, are said to be erroneous; nay more, in a late publication, which is entitled the Substance of a Speech of a Noble and Learned Lord high in office in Ireland, they are said to be strong and decided misrepresentations; upon which I shall trouble you with a few remarks.

Touching the first, it is certain that the grievance complained of has been done away by a partial repeal of the Act of the 2d of Queen Anne, in 1780; but as this repeal forms only a part, a clause in a long Act of Parliament, the mistake might have been made even by well-informed men; and every mistake cannot be construed into a wilful misrepresentation.

As to the last allegation, it cannot be denied that the laws of King William, restraining the Catholics from the use of arms, are still existing, though seldom put in execution; that they were brought into action in 1776, for four years; and that they were revived again in 1784; in consequence of some local disturbances; but surely the charge is rather hard, to say that they had misrepresented facts, merely because they have not stated in their petition the interval between the said periods when these laws, or rather their execution, were dormant.

The bulk of their petition, six or seven of the most essential parts of their allegations, out of eight,

eight, being proved, it will scarcely justify a charge of a wilful misrepresentation of facts. Errors in trifles can scarcely be considered as falsifications. When in long details, and statements which depend upon a succession of laws, repealing or enforcing preceding, by subsequent Acts of Parliament, even the most able professional men are sometimes liable to mistakes, of which proofs may be given even in the pamphlet in question.

The Act of Supremacy is there quoted as enacted in the 27th of Elizabeth; but one glance of the eye upon the Irish Statute Book * will decide that only two laws passed in that Session relative to attainders.

The Act of Uniformity, which passed in Ireland in 1665, is a transcript from the English Acts of the 14th and 15th of Charles II. chap. 4, which law, according to Bishop Burnet, related solely to the Dissenters; nor did I ever hear, till I read it in this publication, that it contained a prohibition of the celebration of Mass. Certain it is, that no words to that effect are contained in that law, as will be evident to those who trace this matter from the following reference. †

This law, however, and the obligation on the Catholics to take the oath of supremacy, are adduced in this pamphlet, to prove that they were under more restraints now than in the reign of the second Charles.

* Irish Statutes, Vol. I. p. 391.

† ————— Vol. III. p. 139.

But this opinion cannot be admitted, even by men who have a slight knowledge of our Parliamentary History. The Act of Supremacy, in both kingdoms, originated from Henry the Eighth's dispute with the Pope, and his separation from him on account of his divorce: it was revived in the first Parliaments of Elizabeth, in both kingdoms, it is true; but originally it existed when the whole country were Catholics: nay more, if we look farther back, the interference of the Pope in our Ecclesiastical affairs was resisted from the earliest period, from the Statute of Premunire, in the days of Richard the Second. To restrain those usurpations still more, the Act of Supremacy was framed; and I hope it will not be thought a distinction without a difference, when I assert, that if our Legislators were Roman Catholics in the reign of Henry the Eighth, yet they were not Papists.

The limited sense which is applied in this publication to the Treaty of Limerick, is argued with great candour and ability; though it differs materially from the opinion of the Lords of England upon this subject, the 16th of November, 1691. Both those constructions are now before the public, and they will pronounce which of the two opinions are best founded.

So much for this publication: unwilling to trespass any longer upon public attention, or to take up a larger space in your valuable Paper, I shall conclude with one short valedictory remark.

The design of restoring to Irish Catholics the rights of voting for Members of Parliament, and of admission to Juries, was worthy of a late liberal and princely recommendation.

It is to be hoped that those who act upon such wise and consummate policy will accomplish the work, nor be diverted from their noble plan by the tenacity of hasty and premature decision on the one hand, nor by the manœuvre of starting questions upon Parliamentary Reform, on the other.

Recent events, which make thinking men reflect with horror upon innovations, under the deceitful mask of reforms, recommend the restoration of ancient privileges:—the Catholics may, by this measure, become faithful auxiliaries, registered associates in defence of our valuable Constitution, and be severed and divided from Innovators and Reformers, from Levellers and Dissenters.

Foreign connections no longer interfere; upon their own principles they must approve of a limited monarchy. Have they common sense, have they eyes, they must be convinced that their brethren have been the principal victims of French anarchy and equality.

The Government of England were in 1691, still more in 1703, averse to rigorous laws against the Irish Catholics. For the first, we have the authority of the House of Lords—for the second act, we have the testimony of Bishop Burnet. This measure is founded upon the wisest councils,

cils, and traced from the best of times ; so shall its advocates revert to the liberal, enlarged principles of the Revolution, and thus shall they tread in the steps of their ancestors.

No. 22. THURSDAY, *February* 21, 1793.

Omne consilium Pompei Themistocleum est : existimat enim, qui mare habet, rerum potiri.

CICERO AD ATTICUM.

IN whatever light we consider war, whether it be offensive or defensive, commenced from the hope of conquest, or the necessity of self-preservation, it must be regarded, by contemplative minds, as a great evil. In modern wars, the present age feel burthens, which are entailed upon posterity. The ultimate argument of kings is the principal scourge of the people.

Happily for this country, our insular situation, those boundaries which Providence has assigned, and Nature has prescribed to these islands, exempt us from many of those martial evils which are severely felt by continental nations. Our defence must depend principally upon our naval strength ; the augmentation of our land forces should ever be a secondary consideration.

In the present situation of England, those reflections must eminently apply to our hostile preparations. Supposing that we have at length opened our eyes, and seen the many evils attendant upon belligerent treaties and continental connections, more particularly after the crusade of last summer, under the Duke of Brunswick, I am the more inclined to hope that the united wisdom of this country will prevent some of those evils from which we were not exempt in the seven years war, even under the glorious auspices of Lord Chatham, in the German campaigns.

For these reasons, every friend of his country must deprecate augmentations of our land forces, disproportionate to our naval preparations; and still more, the mode which has been too much and too often in contemplation, of raising new corps and independent companies, in preference to increasing the existing establishment and the old regiments—arrangements which are too often mere military jobs, by which cadets get rank without toil or labour; learn only to play at leap-frog, thus to vault over the heads of veteran officers, and supersede long, hard, and meritorious services.

The invasion of this country by France has been considered, in the admirable production of one of our first military writers,* lately republished, as a most romantic enterprize, almost im-

* General Lloyd.

practicable in all conjunctures, a downright chimaera, while England preserves her naval superiority.

This consideration should lead us to suppose that a less portion of land forces would answer every purpose of defence, if our naval strength was duly augmented. It is a maxim that can never be too often repeated, that the greater part of the standing armies of Great Britain and Ireland should be amphibious, or, in other words, composed principally of marines; a maxim which derives new weight from the tendency of the present war to continental connections, land armament and enterprizes against France, similar to those of last summer, which served only to fan and not to extinguish the fire, to increase and not to counteract the internal convulsions in that country.

That I may not dwell altogether upon general assertions, permit me to observe, that by the establishment of a militia of five hundred men in each county in Ireland, and the addition of five thousand to the fifteen thousand troops which that kingdom pays at present, Ireland will have made more than double the exertion than in any antecedent war; though the means of providing for this augmentation, the product of a hasty decision, will, I believe, puzzle those who are best acquainted with the finances and resources of that country.

Neither can we readily believe that the least inconvenient methods of raising additional contributions

tributions will be adopted, when we see no less than thirteen different articles of taxation devised to raise a sum estimated at 10,000*l.* per annum; where so many additions are made to old duties, where so many fractional sums and calculations are introduced, by which merchants will be still more teased and perplexed, on the receipt of the customs, and reduced to those inconveniencies, subjected to that expensive delay and costly waste of time, so burthensome and so much complained of in this country, before the customs were consolidated by the great abilities and Herculean labours of Mr. Frewin.

Leaving it to the enlightened Members of a great Assembly to decide whether war was inevitable, or could have been avoided—to calculate its means, objects, probable success and duration, it may, perhaps, be allowed, to plain and humble men, like myself, to whom the interests of their country are dear, to express a wish that this war may be conducted with the least possible expense; and that the burthens we still feel, from the fatal American contest, may not be unnecessarily increased.

Acting in concert with many great Powers, possibly with all Europe, combined in a league more extensive than that of Cambray against Venice, aided by such armaments, in a contest with France, impoverished in her finances, and convulsed, to her center, by civil commotions, one might be disposed to think that the ordinary land-
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ed forces of this country—her peace establishment, and her militia, would be sufficient for internal defence.

While the trade of this country will probably alone suffer in a predatory war, while our aggressions will be principally maritime, it is our marine corps and our navy that should demand our principal attention; that arrangement—that augmentation of our force, may not, perhaps, answer so well the purposes of patronage, or Parliamentary influence; but assuredly it will be, in these circumstances, the surest means of politic aggression, and the most certain method of national defence.

Nor can that preference ever be so timely, as at the present crisis, which was recommended by Sir William Temple, upon general reflections on our insular situation; the preference of a permanent fleet to a standing army.

No. 23. WEDNESDAY, *March 27, 1793.*

— quod optanti divum promittere nemo
Audent, volvenda dies, en attulit ultro.

VIRGIL.

THE Bill for the relief of the Irish Catholics, which has been lately agreed to in the House of Commons of Ireland, with the amendments of the Lords, is one of those memorable events of the present important period, which ought not to pass by without a proper comment; more particularly in a Paper which has been so useful in many, but more particularly in this instance, by the publication of fair premises, from which such just and important conclusions have been derived, and in the elucidation of truth.

For this complete emancipation, the Irish Catholics, the majority of the people of that kingdom, are, beyond doubt, principally indebted to the wisdom and liberality of the English Administration, traversed as their claims have been by ancient prejudices; by those who abused their principles, while they assented to the measure; who spoke against a Bill to which, notwithstanding, they gave their suffrages; and who made a tenacity of error, a principle of conduct, and a point of honour.

Thus

Thus the treaty of Limerick has, at length, been ratified; and that Convention of the 3d of October, 1691, has been accomplished, after the lapse of a century: a treaty, for which, beyond doubt, the good faith of King William, and of the English nation, was pledged; by which they were entitled to all the privileges they enjoyed in the days of the Second Charles; in a word, to all privileges, save only that of sitting in Parliament.

Of their military capacity, under this Bill, I should wish to say a valedictory word; but, unwilling to take up more of your valuable Paper, or of public attention, at this busy season, I shall conclude, with observing, that few general assertions are capable of more proof than that ours is the only service where religious tenets or persuasions are exclusions to serving in the army or navy; and that they form no disqualifications, nor are any bar to service in the armies of the various kingdoms on the continent of Europe.

No. 24. TUESDAY, *April 2, 1793.*

Miraberis, mi fili ! quam pauca sapientia mundus regitur.

OXENSTIERN.

HAVING, in my letter of the 12th ult. troubled you with some remarks upon the alarming state of our Navy, I shall no longer dwell upon facts now generally admitted, and which have made, at length, their due impression upon the public mind; but the criminal supineness of the marine department is a fertile theme, upon which I am not to seek for materials, but for bounds and limits to animadversions.

The question which naturally presents itself to every thinking mind, nay, to the most superficial observer, is shortly this: how comes it to pass that, in the late contests with Spain and Russia, upon foreign or remote and minor considerations, our fleets were powerful, and imposed just ideas of the power and superiority of England in the eyes of the universe, while in the present tremendous conflict, the squadrons not only of Toulon, but of Brest, have had notoriously the advantage, and have been before-hand with us in the Mediterranean as well as the Atlantic?

But when we see those who preside in departments to which, so far from being trained to, they have never had the most remote knowledge of, the solution of this question will be no longer problematical;

blematical; we should laugh at the idea of a Layman being placed at the head of the church, or of a Lieutenant of a man of war being made Commander in Chief of the army; and yet we are not surprized if a Captain of Foot should be placed at the head of the Admiralty.

It has been assigned, as a colour for such designations (for no reasons can be given for them) that it requires senatorial abilities to preside in this department; but this plea cannot be urged now, nor was it a prevalent reason in the case of Lord Sandwich. The Naval History of this country, substituting experience for theory, informs us, that our Navy was never so powerful, nor this country ever so successful in its proper element, as during the superintendency of Lord Orford—of Sir Charles Wager, in 1739—of the great circumnavigator in the seven years war, during the glorious epoch of Lord Chatham's administration.

Waving, however, invidious reflections upon personal qualifications, permit me to offer a few reflections to the public upon this most important subject, and to dedicate these observations, through the medium of your useful and valuable Paper, at the sacred shrine of public welfare.

It is asserted, by those who are best acquainted with naval affairs, that it is impossible to man our fleet effectually without having recourse to the impress service. This power, which is justified by the *salus populi*, the general safety, the first law, paramount to every other consideration; that

power which Lord Chatham, in the affair of Falkland's Islands, beautifully and emphatically called "the right hand of the community," and which, in the case of Broadfoot, was proved to be consonant to law, and countenanced by Acts of Parliament in Judge Foster's Reports. This exertion having been unaccountably postponed, it remains for us to consider whether, if the present formidable contest should be prolonged, it might not be expedient to adopt some permanent regulations, for the establishment of our naval forces upon a sure and lasting foundation, and render the navy our primary object, in preference to every other consideration.

Registers for seamen in France have had the happiest effects; by these means, sea-faring people are licensed to enter into the merchant service, provided that in the exigency of the State, they shall be obliged to serve on board the King's ships in the defence of their country, when summoned by the Admiralty.

Propositions to this effect were made in Parliament, soon after the Revolution, and even in later periods, though many difficulties have prevented their adoption; but of all the projects of this sort, that which seems to be the most analogous to our insular situation, and to the preservation of this country, is that of rendering our principal force amphibious: in a word, the establishment of a permanent fleet, instead of a standing army, which I shall describe in the words of
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the wisest and the most public-spirited Minister that this country ever produced.

“ The first act I esteem of the greatest and most general use (says Sir William Temple) is, that whereas the safety, honour, and wealth of this kingdom depends chiefly on our naval forces: a distinct and perpetual revenue may be applied, and appropriated by Act of Parliament for the maintaining of fifty men of war, with an adequate proportion of seamen, to be always either at sea, or ready in port, to sail upon all occasions: this navy to be so proportioned, by the several rates of ships, as may serve in peace to secure our trade from piracies, sudden insults, or insolencies of our neighbours, may assert the dominion and safety of the narrow seas; and, in time of war, with the addition of thirty capital ships, or more, compose a fleet strong enough to fight a fair battle with the strongest of our neighbours, with the blessing of God, and in a just cause.

“ The constant charge of fifty such ships may amount to six hundred thousand pounds a year; and if this exceeded the current charges, the rest might be applied to repair old or build to new ships; one half might be appropriated to this use, out of the Customs, and the other half raised by some clear tax upon the houses and lands of each parish, collected every half year by the churchwardens, and paid by them to the Sheriff of each county, and by him to the Treasurer of the Navy.

“ Such

“ Such a tax would be light, and pass but as a small quit-rent, which every man would be content to pay towards the guard of the seas; the money would circulate at home, amongst ourselves, and would secure and increase the vast wealth of our trade. But it is inconceivable what treasures it would save this nation, by preventing so many wars or quarrels abroad, as we have been exposed to, by our neighbours’ infidelities, upon our being disarmed or ill-provided at sea; nor would such a fleet, continually maintained, be of small effect, to poise any discontents or factions at home; but it would, at least, leave us to compose our own differences, without the dangerous intervention or invasion of any foreign Power.”

With due allowances for change of circumstances, after the lapse of more than a century, these observations of this great and excellent man apply to the present exigency: to this proposition, it may be added, that a proportionable reduction of our land forces, upon the increase of our marines, would render this plan more economical; and that it might be rendered more useful, if a permanent principle should be adopted in future treaties, to contribute our quota of aid, not in land, but in maritime assistance.

While we see, however, the enormous levies of land forces in Great Britain and Ireland, the addition of one hundred and fifty independent companies, and the enormous quota of 10,000 troops stipulated in the Prussian treaty, we shall

be induced to think that our fleet has been, in the contemplation of Ministers, a minor consideration.

Preventive measures are better far than remedial, not only in this respect, but also in the late failures it is manifest, that forecast and prudential arrangements prevent the consequences of extravagant speculations: nor would it have been difficult to have prevented many of the late bankruptcies, had the county banks been obliged to issue notes for sums not less than twenty pounds, by which a due currency would be given to those of the Bank of England, while those five guinea notes would be guarded against; by which paper circulation has effectually banished gold and silver from the country, as they were by iron money, under the institutes of Lycurgus at Sparta.

But to revert to the principal object of this Essay, it has been said that in the presidency of a seaman, parties and predilections would prevail, from which the Maritime Department might be free by the appointment of a landsman; but if prejudices or particular friendships are to prevail, surely those are preferable which arise from long services and habits contracted in warfare, than in those by which ministerial preferments are guided by the systems of a convivial club, or governed by the continued jealousy and capricious whim of a female *cotée*.

To whatever cause, however, it is to be ascribed, certain it is, and our late enormous losses in the Mediterranean speak it feelingly—that
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this country never was more unprepared, in her proper element, for war—in a war long foreseen by Administration.

Never was an exclamation better applied than that general remark, the motto to this Essay; more relevant by far than to the situation of affairs of the Confederates before the treaty of Munster, when it was made by the Swedish Minister Oxenstiern, upon their misconduct after the death of the great Gustavus.

Certain it is, that public affairs appear now to hang upon conjecture and uncertainty; and, like the fortune of certain eminent men, much admired by vulgar and undiscerning minds, to be mere casualties, the creatures of events, and the sport of fortune.

No. 25. TUESDAY, May 7; 1793.

Suis & ipsa Roma viribus fuit.

HORACE,

THE deplorable state of public credit, lately displayed by the highest authority, is an evil of so great an extent that it does not admit of an exaggeration; nor will a long preface be necessary in an address on this subject, from a well-wisher

Wish to his country, to the good sense of the people of England.

Retrospect is irksome to liberal minds, who wish to treat rashness with lenity, and ignorance with indulgence: the original cause of the encouragement of paper currency, from the produce of the stamps, is too well known. Reflections upon a proposed plan are not in contemplation, since that system which is founded in error cannot be amended.

Two remedies have been proposed—the one to let the excess of the evil work its own cure, and to prevent its return by legal restrictions and regulations, to operate hereafter, as was the case in Ireland in 1756 and 1760: the other to enable the Bank to issue more notes, and to discount more liberally, by a grant of three millions from the Legislature; while private associations may support credit in commercial districts, or plans similar to the princely subscription of the gentlemen near Newcastle, or the patriotic system of the merchants of Liverpool.

Various objections have been made against the last proposition, by those who wish to perplex that which is plain, and to adopt that which is intricate and bad, perhaps impracticable: to all which remarks I shall shortly reply in the words of Sir William Temple, when he recommended a general registry—"that which has been, may be:" that in adopting this plan they would follow the advice of the greatest luminaries this

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country has produced, and tread in the steps of their ancestors.

Our predecessors, in 1696, had a prospect full as gloomy as the present: we were engaged then in a gloomy system of continental alliances; the war was accompanied with expensive embarkations of cavalry, and large detachments of infantry, while our natural strength was neglected, and the navy became a subaltern consideration.

At that period, the silver coin was so depreciated, that guineas passed for thirty shillings; Bank notes bore discount of fifteen per cent. and were paid by ten per cent. every fortnight; and Bank stock was considerably under *par*.

The first mode of relief adopted then was a re-coinage, by which nine millions of silver were melted down with a supposed loss to the nation of two millions; and the next was, the issuing of small Exchequer bills, first invented by Mr. Montague, as a *temporary* substitute for specie; and lastly, five millions was raised by loan, and granted to the Bank, to complete the original subscription to *par*, to enable the Directors to issue more notes, and to discount more liberally.

This was effected by a long Act of Parliament of the 9th of King William, then called the Engrafting Act; but as this word might lead to technical terms and financial manœuvres, I shall accompany this plain account with a reference to a compilation, where it may be
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fully traced in Anderfon's History of Commerce.*

The consequences of these wise measures were such, that credit revived, and commerce was restored; the nation appeared more brilliant when the cloud was removed. England faced her enemies with glory; the Revolution was rendered permanent, and soon after a glorious peace was effected, by the treaty of Ryfwick.

Let us now contrast the present pawnbroking system with the following eulogium, drawn by the masterly pen of Dr. Somerville, of the conduct of the great man who then presided at the helm, of Mr. Montague, afterwards Lord Halifax, at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer.

“ The resolutions (says that able writer) and
 “ the measures by which they were accomplished,
 “ while they reflect honour on all who acceded to
 “ them, consecrate the name of Mr. Montague,
 “ the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to distinguish-
 “ ed and everlasting applause. Possessed of an
 “ understanding, penetrating and comprehensive,
 “ he devoted himself, with intense application,
 “ to the study of finance; and suggested expedi-
 “ ents and resources, which not only eluded the
 “ researches of the most ingenious speculators, but
 “ exceeded the comprehension of many, who were
 “ far from being ignorant, or inexpert in the or-
 “ dinary business of the Revenue. The names
 “ of the celebrated Sir Isaac Newton, and of Mr-

* Vol. II. p. 618 and 622.

“ Locke, are also transmitted to our gratitude;
 “ for having contributed their assistance to Mr.
 “ Montague, in this arduous business; and it is a
 “ pleasure to publish every circumstance which
 “ adds to the merit of those whose memory is so
 “ precious to every friend of science and of
 “ virtue.*”

* In consequence of the *decay* of PUBLIC CREDIT in Ireland, towards the conclusion of the late reign, a report was made on the 6th of May, 1756, upon which two laws were grounded, relative to Bankers: this report was made, and those laws were framed by Mr. Pery, afterward Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland.

These regulations have had such salutary effects, that there are not a dozen country Banks in Ireland; and their having escaped the violence, at least, of the present commercial storm, more formidable than any that has happened since the tremendous bubble in 1720, does infinite honour to the sagacious precautions and clear foresight of that wise and excellent man.

By these laws, bankers properties are registered in the general registry of that kingdom; they are not allowed to be merchants, shop-keepers, or concerned with the public revenues, while interest is interdicted on their notes: they are obliged to call in their accountable receipts, &c. within a short period of quitting business, and notes cannot be re-issued.

Happy would it have been for this country, assuredly highly honourable to Administration, had some regulations of this sort been adopted here, to prevent ruinous speculations and swarms of country banks; evils which were long foreseen, even by superficial observers: nor does it now form an excuse, that, according to the homely proverb, those who were penny wise and pound foolish encouraged this extensive paper circulation, for the sake of the stamp duty, and to obtain an increase of the revenue.

No. 26. FRIDAY, *May 10, 1793.*

Spretis quæ tarda veniant; vel cum Exitio properant.

TACITUS.

IT has been creditably reported that a Great Man, lately in high office, foresaw that paper credit exceeded its due bounds; that the bubble would burst, as it did in 1720, with wide and vast ruin; and that he suggested some expedients, as a timely remedy, particularly a revision and amendment of the Bankrupt Laws, of that system, which came under his own department and peculiar superintendence.

Happy, indeed, would it have been, had Administration (if this be true) desired and listened to the councils of one, to whom his country and his sovereign owe so much; but those who mistake fortune for merit, and thus consecrate their own fortuitous elevation, often condemn the suggestions of the most enlightened, forgetting that delusion is transitory, while truth alone is permanent; that storms in the political produce the effect of tempests in the natural world; that they clear the atmosphere from noxious vapours in one case, while they disperse the mists of prejudice in the other.

The lessons which adversity inculcate are, to reduce ourselves to our proper level, to lead us to
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look at our real, and not to amuse ourselves with our imaginary situation; to correct the future by the past; that trust may no longer be the reciprocal injury of those who give, and of those who receive it: in a word, that confidence may not overleap its due bounds, nor credit transcend security.

As an abstract question, it may be doubted whether an appropriation of public credit to merchants is beneficial; whether it is wise to take from the laborious—to exact from the meritorious, that they may bestow great emoluments upon the improvident and extravagant part of the community? whether the just definition of a *job* is not a *transfer of public means to private ends*? whether popularity may not be thus bought at too dear a rate? whether posterity may not consider such a system like those revenues which we trace in the orations of Demosthenes, and which, as some critics suppose, were dedicated to the theatrical amusement of the people of Athens?

The temporary relief and artificial props of ruinous speculation, of which the excess might operate the cure, may resemble the aggregate of the repairs from time to time, of a bridge, which amount to a larger sum than the estimate of its reconstruction.

While it is high treason to clip or coin, paper money may be circulated without restraint, limitation, or security; no punishment awaits the transgressor, by whom thousands may be ruined; and in this great commercial country, there are

yet no regulations for private bankers, save only those in 1708, limiting their firm to fix, and their notes to a certain time, while regulations prevail in Ireland upon this subject; there, as well as in Scotland, registers are general, as they have been in the seventeen provinces of the Dutch and Austrian Flanders since the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, which are confined to two counties only in England.

These registers have been progressive, not only in the Shires, but even in different parts of the same counties. Thus the register for the West Riding was established in 1704; for the East Riding in 1708; for Middlesex in 1709; and for the North Riding in 1735; though, in the second instance, we have the following testimony of the utility of those institutions from the Legislature.

“ That the lands in the said East Riding, being generally freehold, they may be so secretly conveyed from one person to another, that such as are ill-disposed may commit frauds, and frequently do so, by means whereof several persons (who, through years of industry, and by great frugality, have been enabled to purchase lands, or lend money on landed security) have been undone in their purchases and mortgages, by prior secret conveyances, and not only themselves, but their whole families, utterly ruined.”*

It is true, that a paradox has been advanced, that the credit of a commercial country should be unlimited,

Ed of Ame, c. 25.



unlimited, nor chained by any restraint, nor fettered by any restrictions; but, for the refutation of this gross error, I refer to the able speech of the great merchant, the late Mr. Glover, at the bar of the House of Commons, where, in consequence of the great shock that money credit received in 1772, he recommended a system of restraint upon unbounded trust and fictitious security.

Assuredly such a restraint would be reciprocally advantageous to creditors and merchants, to those who give, and to those who receive credit; since many of the latter are to be found, who, to use the phrase of the Roman Historian, the motto to this Essay—despising sure but slow acquisitions, hasten to be rich at the risk of destruction.

No. 27. SATURDAY, May 25, 1793.

— Animalque in vulnere ponunt.

VIRGIL.

HAVING preserved Holland, forced the French to evacuate Flanders, to confine themselves within their own limits, to waste their resources by intestine warfare and increasing anarchy, surely the true policy of England would now be to leave them

them to their fate, that this hive of monsters may perish like bees by their own animosity, and lose their stings and their lives in the wounds which they inflict.

Happy would it be for mankind to profit by that golden maxim, that the law of moderation is the law of enjoyment; still happier would it be for England to rest satisfied with her victories, with the accomplishment of the two great objects of the war, to give ease to her exhausted subjects, consolation to her drooping commerce, to heal the wounds which the war has caused, and repose under the shade of her laurels.

Affuredly England is now triumphant and secure. What object can she attain by the farther prosecution of the land war? Is it worth while to make assurance double sure, at the hazard of public credit? If a barrier is to be obtained for the House of Austria, let the Emperor and his new ally contend for that object without our intervention.

It was certainly a great oversight in the maritime powers to suffer the Imperial Joseph to dismantle the fortresses of Flanders in 1785, thus to destroy the fruits of the Duke of Marlborough's victories, purchased by the blood and treasure of our ancestors: but if Austria wishes to re-establish a barrier for the Netherlands, the sole plea which now exists for the continuance of a land war, either she is able to conquer the strong posts with her own and the force of her new ally on the French frontiers, or, if not, it would be cheaper

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and more expedient to re-fortify those towns which were dismantled by the late Emperor, when he projected the exchange of Flanders for Bavaria.

I repeat it, and it was an observation made in 1785, that it was a negligence which nothing but ignorance of antecedent circumstances could justify, to suffer the guarantee of the maritime powers to be superseded, and the terms of the Barrier Treaty to be done away by the late Emperor: but that lapse in our foresight, that grand mistake in our political conduct, is now without a remedy, and that retrospect is idle which creates only useless regret: for surely no man can adopt so preposterous a scheme, or even think of retracing the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, to fight those battles over again, and to add one hundred millions more to the national debt, and the present disastrous state of the resources of this country.

That France has declared war, without reason or provocation, against us, I admit, but what then? Is it the sane and sound part of the country that are hostile to us? Certainly not. Had the mob in 1780 obtained a complete victory in this country—had they plundered the Bank, possessed themselves of the supreme power, and afterwards declared war against all Europe, would their adversaries consider their phrenzy in a serious light?—would they not surely have recourse to defensive measures; and regard them as objects of contempt, and not of serious indignation?

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There are certain truths, which though many think, few are bold enough to pronounce; motives, perhaps, of prudence, or of self-interest, restrain them, and artful men avail themselves of this silence to effect their own purposes.

In the present *crisis*, however, it is clear that we should not leave a single man on the Continent, and confine ourselves altogether to naval operations. Of the obligations of the Prussian Treaty much may be said; but if it be carried much farther, if we are bound to act offensively, that treaty which has nearly been the ruin, will yet be the grave of this country.

By exertions on our own element, we shall act with ten-fold vigour, while the resources of this country will not, in fact, be ultimately exhausted; in naval preparations, that money is spent among ourselves, which becomes a dead loss, and is completely subtracted from us by continental operations.

It is much to be lamented that all our exertions are not confined to the fleet, and that the whole of our military service is not amphibious: for this purpose, that register for 30,000 sailors, established by an Act of Parliament in 1696, was admirably contrived, and its repeal in 1710 may be considered as a national misfortune.

In fine, if we consult the wisest men this country has produced, we shall find them recommending the preference of the naval to the land service.

To this effect was the advice of one, who, conscious of the dark cloud that obscured the evening of his life, which dimmed, but did not extinguish his lustre, bequeathed his name and memory to foreign nations, and to his own country, after some time had passed over; the prophet of those arts which Locke and Newton were afterwards destined to reveal.

“ He that commands at sea, (says Lord Bacon) is at great liberty, and may take as much or as little of the war as he thinks proper: whereas potentates, who are merely strong at land, are frequently, notwithstanding their great land superiority, reduced to great difficulties, and the riches of both Indies seem, in a great degree, to be the consequence of the command at sea.”

No. 28. MONDAY, June 3, 1793.

Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore Fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, & multis utile Bellum.

LUCAN.

ENGAGED as this country now is in the continuance of a land war, where our interests are no longer concerned, some pretext or colour of reason, one would imagine, might be substituted in place of that ridiculous phrase, *implicit confidence*—a maxim of a very recent date; since Lord Chatham himself, not many years ago, pronounced, that “confidence in Ministers was a plant of slow growth, nor did it easily take root in aged bosoms.”

Affuredly some excuse or apology should be made to a great country, for lavishing millions on a Flanders war, while the resources of the kingdom are visibly and daily declining; some reason, if any can be found, which might rouse and interest the people to commit themselves in a war the most ruinous and destructive that we have ever experienced.

General assertions are, however, vague and unimportant, without proofs. The Dutch war in 1672, it is true, was attended with a sequestration of the bankers property in the Exchequer

—a species of public bankruptcy: but let any man cast his eye over the London Gazette, from the first number in 1665, and he will not find in the commencement of King William's and Queen Anne's wars, of the wars of 1739 and of 1756, nay, in the American war itself, that the list of bankruptcies were nearly equal, as at present, to the military promotions in the Gazette.

Since, then, no reason has been given for the continuance of the war, or, at least, none that is satisfactory to the public, it may not be inexpedient to state the humble observations of a plain, obscure individual, who, however, wishes well to the community, on the true grounds of the perseverance in a land war.

Too many are to be found, in high as well as in low life, who survey the evils that afflict their fellow-creatures with a malignant eye, and consider them as the great harvest of private interest; of this description are those who have availed themselves of the present hurricane in the south of Europe, to effect a division of a free and independent kingdom—those despots who have made a partition, by a diagonal line drawn through the mass of the whole territory of Poland.

The Emperor having no ostensible share in this shameful transaction, a question may be asked, where is his compensation for his acquiescence? But Alsace, Lorraine, and French Flanders, are designed, it seems, to be conquered by the Combined Powers, and ceded to Austria. The Imperial Joseph having dismantled the Flemish fortresses

treffes in 1785, from the neglect of the maritime Powers to enforce their guarantee; this neglect is to be remedied, and the Barrier Treaty re-established at the expense of this country, and won by a series of campaigns, as it was acquired by the victories of the Duke of Marlborough:

Unhappily for England, we are involved in a treaty with Prussia, signed the 13th of August, 1788; by which the reciprocal contingents of 16,000 infantry, and 4000 cavalry, are to be furnished whenever the requiring party shall be threatened with hostilities.

Upon this faithful and short statement let us pause for a moment, and survey this plain and just chart of the war, of its objects and destination.

Is the American crusade so soon forgotten, or do we wish, with passive obedience, to plunge this country into worse calamities? Is the minor to be preferred to the greater interest, or the imaginary interest of Princes, to the solid and essential welfare of the people? Can an honourable mind, from experience or reflection, suppose that there are, in the conduct of beings of that description, principles either in point of honour or gratitude, of justice or fair dealing, that can warrant just grounds of confidence, or cause even a temporary deviation from a regard to public welfare?

The two great objects of the war, the preservation of Holland and of Flanders, also being effected, what is there left for England to desire?

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and is not this the period to negotiate, when we have accomplished our designs?

Our annals all display to our view the offers of Louis the XIVth at Gertruydenburgh, in 1709, contrasted with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1711: had we closed with him in the former period, all the objects of the grand alliance would have been accomplished; but those conferences were interrupted by the continuance of the war, and millions were lavished to procure shame and repentance at the pacification of Utrecht.

This lesson our ancestors have left us—to make peace in time, nor to commit public welfare to the uncertainties of continued hostilities; the example may be highly proper, and the application of it to the present exigency is too obvious to require farther comments.

May the good Genius of England rescue her from an intricate and interested confederacy, where her interests are no longer concerned; may the supreme Disposer of events preserve her from a long catalogue of evils, attendant upon land armaments and faithless allies. Above all, may the maritime Powers have no concern with systems of partition; nor let England become the associate of the Royal Conspirators against the liberties, the independence, and internal Constitution of Poland.

No. 29. MONDAY, June 10, 1793.

Cujus ora non sunt sua, sed aliena.

SELDEN.

IT was the just remark of the great author of the *Mare Clausum*, that while England asserted her ancient claims to a naval superiority, her limits were not confined to her own, but that her power was extended to the coasts of every nation in the universe.

“All that is wanted (says Xenophon, in his *History of Greece*) to render Athens all-powerful, is a sea—is an insular situation.”—“One would imagine (says the author of *L'Esprit des Loix*) that that historian, in describing the history of that Republic, was speaking of the actual state of England as a naval power.”

The completest analogy may, doubtless, be found between the ancient and the greatest modern marine country; and the common well known sentiment, so often repeated on the festive banquets of Britons, is a literal translation of the advice that Themistocles gave to his countrymen in the hour of danger—“that they should place their chief confidence in the wooden walls of Athens.”

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When this country was itself a continental power, by her possession of Normandy, and many other provinces in France, we cannot be surprized at her attention to land armaments, and her success in land wars under the Edwards and Henrys; but, limited as we have been for three centuries to an insular situation, when we cast a glance over the history of this country, we shall be surprized that this country ever engaged in continental operations,

In the several wars since the Restoration, we have acted in combination, not with the forces only, but peculiarly with the interests of other countries. In the reign of the Second Charles, a body of English volunteers were thought to be so powerful an engine in the armies of Louis the Fourteenth, that their entering into their service occasioned the warmest altercations in Parliament; and it is a curious fact, that upon a debate on this subject, that Sir Winston Churchill apologized for his son making his first campaign under Marechal Turenne, and lending his services to aggrandize that power, which in the next century was so effectually crippled by his victories.

This whimsical propensity of endeavouring to shine as a land military power is the more extraordinary, as certainly we always have been, and probably must ever remain, inferior to most of the petty German States, in the scale of land forces.

But it is a great truth, that cannot be too often impressed upon the minds of Britons—that

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on our own element, acting with the full exertion of her natural strength, England is a match for the whole world; though inferior to any of the five considerable kingdoms in Europe, in her land forces.

Nor is the proof of this assertion difficult, since at the close of the American war, we captured three Admirals, under the auspices of Rodney, of the three great Powers with whom we were engaged, united with the armed Neutrality, which may be well considered as the whole Naval Power of the Continent.

In the present crisis, however, peace is the grand *desideratum*, the *primary object* of this country. There is a wonderful propensity to puzzle the cause, and to perplex that which is plain and easy, when particular interests are in question. With whom will you treat? (say the advocates for war.) Have they a King, a Council, or a Parliament in France? To this, I answer—Be what they will; savages, or cannibals, if you please, yet still you can always make a child's bargain with them: and of this species of pacific arrangements, under the name of truces, in early times there were abundant instances with rebels, and all descriptions of men, in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

But if the war must continue, the voice of truth, of good sense, of the English nation, in a word, is for a Naval War. Nor should a single man be left on the Continent of Europe—thus we shall shine once more on our own element, and

get rid of a confederacy where our interests are no longer concerned, of a division of territory, which is the disgrace of this century: in fine, of that felonious transaction the partition of Poland, of which the attack upon the French frontiers seems only a part of the same system, and an indemnification for the acquiescence of the House of Austria,

Of partitions, and treaties for divisions of kingdoms, without the consent of the inhabitants, our ancestors entertained a just abhorrence, marked in the most emphatic manner, in the debates on the celebrated Treaty at the end of the last century, for the division of Spain; the fatal cause of the will of the last Spanish King of the Austrian line, in favour of the House of Bourbon, and of the union of the two crowns, in the same family.

Nor would so strong an epithet have been assigned to the division of the whole territory of Poland, were it not justified by the expression of a distinguished Member of Parliament, in the reign of King William, who called the famous Partition, at the close of his reign, a Felonious Treaty.

No. 30. TUESDAY, *July 2, 1793.*

*Diurna populi Romani, per provincias, per exercitus, cunctis
leguntur quam, ut non noſcatur, quid Thraſca fecerit.*

TACITUS.

THE above paſſage evidently proves that Newspapers were circulated in the Roman empire; though of the mode of multiplying copies we have, it is ſaid, no clear account, and it muſt have been attended with great difficulties, when the art of printing was unknown.

Of the utility of the public prints in this country, too much cannot be ſaid; and I ſhall proceed to inveſtigate, through the medium of one of our beſt conducted Papers, that moſt important and moſt difficult, perhaps, of all ſubjects, the regulation of intereſt.

In early periods, intereſt was held to be immoral and unlawful: it was firſt allowed, and limited to 10 per cent. in the 37th year of Henry the VIIIth; before which period, a predominant ſuperſtition, backed by the authority of Aristotle, and the doctrines of the ſchoolmen, diſcountenanced it, by a contumelious term, which has laſted to our days; and it was held to be an evil that ought to be interdicted.

Intereſt.

Interest has been since reduced from ten, to eight, to six, and lastly to five per cent. in 1714: limitations which have been adopted by the wisest Councils, and the most enlightened Parliaments, and countenanced by great commercial authorities.

On the other hand, in Holland there are no legal limitations of the price of money, nor restrictions of interest, in a country where it is lower than in any other part of Europe: fraud, it is true, is guarded against, registers of all pecuniary transactions, and publicity in all transfers, are prevalent; but men are left to make their own bargains, and are guided only by their own discretion in their loans; thus the price of money, like water, finds its level in that country, regulates its just rate according to risks and circumstances, and spontaneously ascertains its own natural interest.

Of those who adopt the principle of restrictions, similar to those which have prevailed in England, is Doctor Smith, the great author of the *Wealth of Nations*: while, in former days Lord Bacon, and lately, the ingenious Mr. Bentham, and the laborious pen of Mr. Playfair, have been employed in contending that the interest of money should be unrestrained, and find its own level, in a commercial country.

Thus circumstanced, it is evident that there is no question where authorities are more equally balanced, none where opinions are more divided; where it is more difficult to turn the scale, or to decide on which side truth preponderates.

Three

Three observations have, however, been made, which must have great weight by the advocates for leaving interest to find its own rate, freed from any restraint, and uncontrouled by any legal limitation.

The first is, that every loan resembles an insurance; that its terms must vary according to circumstances, and be proportionate to risques that are incurred; that interest would thus be a standard of credit: good securities would obtain money at an easy rate, while adventurers would be highly taxed in the terms of their loans, and a check would thus be given to extravagant speculations, which would no longer out-run security.

Secondly, that lenders who demanded too much would be naturally checked by borrowing from others at more reasonable rates: in plainer terms, if an unreasonable interest was exacted by A. that the loan might be had from B. on lower terms, and the first creditors demand be thus discharged; or, if not, if a more advantageous bargain could not be made, it would be plain that the terms of the first loan were just and equitable.

Lastly, it has been proved, at the period of the American war, that, in forced sales, either in land or money, a debtor would lose, if compelled to sell from known and urgent distress, in one case thirty-seven, and in another thirty-two per cent. consequently, that if he were allowed to borrow at above two per cent. he would be a
gainer

turned the scale of conquest, whose efforts have been most efficacious, should be principally considered in the conduct of the war: and this consideration leads me to convey to the people of England a few reflections, upon two important objects, grounded upon *personal observation*, through the medium of your excellent Paper, of the first consequence to the future safety of Britain, and her naval superiority; I mean, the demolition of the port of Dunkirk, and the works of Cherbourg.

The first, it is well known, was once in our possession, and ceded to England, in consequence of the services rendered by a body of English auxiliaries, commanded by General Lockart, who served with the French when it was taken by Marechal Turenne; and after it was sold by the Second Charles to Louis the XIVth, every treaty, particularly that of Utrecht, required the demolition of the port of Dunkirk, from the extreme injury the trade of this country suffered from her corsairs, from its being the receptacle of privateers in war, and the principal nest of smugglers and free-booters in times of peace.

Why that object was totally relinquished, in the peace of 1763, is difficult to account for even upon plausible motives; or why Parliament permitted, in the ratifications of that treaty, so notorious and impolitic a deviation from the wise policy of their ancestors!

The tenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht stipulated in the most emphatic strain, that the port of Dunkirk, the sluices, piers, and basin, should be

be demolished; but that article was constantly evaded by representations, that if the canals of Mardyck and Furnes were converted into other channels, without which Dunkirk would no longer be a practicable harbour, even for small craft, the inhabitants could not exist, from want of a supply of fresh water, as all the wells in that town furnish water that is brackish and unwholesome.

This consideration, however, shews, that Dunkirk, if closely invested by sea and land, must become an easy conquest—since a powerful army could easily divert these canals from their present channels, and Dunkirk would necessarily yield from the want of this great necessary of life: thus the treaty of Utrecht might at last be fulfilled, and force carry that point where the faith of solemn compacts had proved ineffectual.

The demolition of the works of Cherbourg is another, and a most important consideration, essential to our future safety and preservation: the destruction of the basin and harbour, in 1758, under the auspices of Lord Chatham, prove the probability of our succeeding in a similar enterprize.

It is, perhaps, not generally known that the French, no, not in all their distresses, ever relinquished this undertaking.—When the Cones, those immense machines, the dimensions of whose frames were little inferior to the diameter of the rotunda of Ranelagh, were laid aside from their expense, and the inventor, M. Des Charts, the engineer, was dismissed, it was discovered that a port might be formed at a less cost, and a mound

raised against the sea, merely by sinking a great quantity of loose stones. This plan has since been carried on, while Cherbourg has been strengthened by fortifications, which the French have considered to be impregnable.

This formidable undertaking was, some years ago, regarded by the late Lord Rodney, as a powerful engine in future wars, and, like the Trojan horse, pregnant with mischief to the safety of Great Britain and her naval superiority: its destruction, therefore, would be highly pleasing to every well-wisher to his country, and be an eminent proof of the wise precaution and timely foresight of our rulers.

On general grounds, however, without advert-
ing to particular interests, every friend to humanity must wish well to the combination against France, if it should be conducted with wisdom and justice. Assuredly the sun never shone upon a nobler cause; it is not the cause of a day, of a year, or of any given period; the most remote posterity will be affected by the issue of this contest, and bless the restorers of order and good government in Europe. It is too true, however, that the operations of the Allied Powers may be checked, from those principles of disunion which always predominate in great and numerous associations: that their labours will be Herculean, may well be supposed; but then, like Hercules, they will consecrate, in the true records of Fame, their generous exertions, in purging the earth from a generation of monsters.

NO. 32. SATURDAY, *August 24, 1793.*

Monstrum à vitiis nullâ virtute redemptum.

JUVENAL

WHILE the French appeared desirous to reform their government, to introduce a limited monarchy, and a rational system of liberty, similar to our own, they had many well-wishers in this country; nor did they altogether forfeit their good opinion, while they preserved even the semblance of regard to genuine freedom: it was then, and then only, that England, with the rest of Europe, became hostile and exasperated against them, when, under the mask of liberty, they had established a real system of despotism.

The only Constitution founded upon true principles of freedom, is that where laws predominate, the just arbiters between the highest and the lowest, between the prince and the beggar, similar to that system which predominates in this country; where this principle does not prevail, where the people are subjected to the whim and caprice of one or more of their fellow-citizens, the government is arbitrary; but in France, laws no longer exist, and the fall of every man depends upon the whim and

caprice of a lawless multitude; therefore France is at this moment under a despotic government.

The tendency of the present confusion in France leads still, however, to invest one person with the sovereign power; and those who are best informed in French politics, suppose that the Orleans faction, that leaven of unrighteousness, is the principal cause of unceasing fermentation. Constitutions have succeeded each other like leaves, and that restless people have changed their systems of government as they have their modes and fashions, with the seasons; but the partisans of the great Incendiary are supposed to be true to his interest, to prepare the way for his advancement, that that sordid reptile may thus creep through foul and crooked ways to sovereign power, under the delusive designation of Equality.

It is certain, however, whether it be the intention of some men to avail themselves of a political storm, to acquire office and emolument, or, from the love of novelty, the desire of change, and that restlessness of disposition to which men are too often subjected, that French principles have found partisans in this country; and that a war, where the French have been the aggressors, has been condemned as wanton and unnecessary, and productive of no good consequences to the British empire.

But to preserve, is to acquire; and here it may be asked, whether the present war may not have prevented serious attacks from our ancient enemies, and preserved our Constitution entire and inviolate;

inviolatè ; since the wanton aggressions of the French against us and our allies have manifested their designs to the world. Do we admire the wise institutions of our ancestors, which have made this country pre-eminent in Europe ? Do we applaud the meliorating principle of our Constitution ? or, in plainer terms, the power and tendency which has prevailed since 1688, to correct its abuses, to remedy those faults, defects, and injuries of time, which are incidental to every human institution ; and are we now to listen, not to the enlightened philosopher, but to the arrogance of the refuse of the French populace, to their designs to impose their own whims and reforms upon us, under the odious name of fraternity ?

The war assuredly presents two objects, at least, to our view, in which the future safety of this country may be intimately concerned ; namely, the demolition of the port of Dunkirk and the works of Cherbourg. Having enlarged upon those subjects, in an Essay of the 16th inst. I shall now only briefly remark, that the former object was stipulated, in the strongest manner, by the tenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht ; the spirit and design of which has hitherto been artfully evaded ; and that Dunkirk would now probably be an easy conquest, as it was to Mareschal Turenne, in 1658, if the posts of Favres, Bergues, and Maerdyk, and the communication with Gravelines, should be secured in time, as they were by him, and the environs of Dunkirk preserved from inundation.

Nay,

Nay, more, if the whole French frontiers in Flanders were conquered, and ceded to the Emperor, it would ultimately tend to the safety of our allies, and the tranquillity and peace of Europe: those fortresses were originally vested in the House of Austria, and guaranteed by our ancestors, till they were wrested from them by Louis the XIVth, and these conquests were confirmed by the fickleness and fervility of Charles the Second, at the Treaty of Nimeguen, as is sufficiently manifest from Sir William Temple's negotiations.

On whatever side we look, in whatever light we consider the subject, the future peace and tranquillity of the surrounding States depend upon the issue of the present contest; nor can any nation, or the liberties and properties of any country be safe, while principles worse than those of the piratical States of Barbary predominate in the center of Europe.

Of all the periods in modern history, that which bears the nearest resemblance, perhaps, to the present *crisis*, was the *thirty* years war which preceded 1648, the memorable epoch of the Treaty of Westphalia.

In that celebrated pacification, all Europe almost interfered, and their negotiations and arrangements are now regarded as the great charter of the empire, and the bulwarks of the liberties of Germany.

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The conduct of the Allied Powers, at that juncture, affords a memorable example, and the noblest precedent to the present combination against France.

Happy, indeed, will it be for humanity and the repose of Europe, if they should tread in their steps, and emulate the conduct of the Powers who formed that treaty; and by bestowing a rational system of freedom upon so large a portion of their fellow-creatures, and rescuing them from the sorrows and phrenzy of Democracy, by a just, rational, subordinate, and equitable Constitution in France.

So shall they secure their own permanency and their own privileges, while they shall deserve the genuine praise of posterity for their disinterested exertions. Thus shall their fairest and noblest ambition be gratified, in emulating the conduct of the Supreme Being, who extracted order from jarring elements, and formed the system of the universe from chaos and anarchy.

No. 33. TUESDAY, *September 3, 1793.*

——— Immedicabile vulnus

Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.

OVID.

IT seems to be the peculiar description of those who have taken the lead in France, that their professions and their conduct, their words and their actions, are continually at variance. It is natural for men who have read their declarations only, to be prejudiced in their favour—but it does not require much information to decide, that while they talk of liberty, they mean to establish their own despotism; and while they profess that the public safety is the supreme law, they design to raise fortunes for themselves from the proscription of their fellow-citizens, and build their own security upon the persecution of every man distinguished by birth, by talents, or merit, in that devoted country.

' Never, assuredly, was such a game so flung away, never was any parallel to be found in history for the conduct of the clumsy agitators of France. It is certain, and one or two circumstances at most will prove it, that they lost an opportunity, and that they had it at one period completely in their power to render their country respectable

respectable in the eyes of Europe, by the entire liquidation of their national debt; nor does the proof require an intricate calculation.

The first evidence of wisdom in a State, as it is in the case of an individual, is the payment of debts contracted by the improvidence of their predecessors. This the French were enabled to accomplish at one period, about three years ago: their national debt was computed, by Mr. Neckar, at two milliards,* while the value of the church lands was estimated at three milliards of French livres. Had they, therefore, consigned the church lands to the payment of their debts, had they divided them amongst the public creditors, and stopped the payment of the interest upon this dividend, they would have acted like a wise and honest man, who sells part of his lands, when he cannot command money to satisfy his creditors; the dividend would, after some temporary difficulties, been easily effected, as the principles of the measure would have been founded in reason and justice. France would have had the revenues of the State clear, and adequate even to extraordinary demands, and enjoyed the super-eminent advantage of being freed from burthens to which almost every state in Europe is now unfortunately subjected.

But instead of this obvious course, assignats were devised by Mirabeau, as a measure by which speculation might predominate: the national debt

* A milliard is a thousand millions.

was increased, by the State subjecting itself to the indemnification of those who had bought certain offices, and charges for pensions upon the public revenues; the taxes were suffered to run in arrear, and the State subsisted, for its current demands, upon the anticipated sale of the church patrimony.

Another capital error was, that the French had not recourse to the ancient establishment of the States General, and to their restoration in the form in which they last met in 1614: according to that arrangement, the nobility, clergy, and the people, were represented by four hundred and eighty members, three, or more, of whom were representatives for one district; a mode of representation which is to be found in the Parliament of Scotland before the union; and which, according to the noble translators of the *Franco-Gallia*, is, probably, the form of the Parliaments in almost all the countries of Europe. Thus all the whimsical annual variations which have obtained the formation of new constitutions, would have been avoided, and permanence would have superseded change and uncertainty.

Had France, in a word, restored her ancient constitution, and paid off her national debt, both of which I contend were completely in her power, Europe would have approved her laudable exertions, instead of execrating, as they do at present, the Gallic usurpers, for their unprecedented crimes, wanton cruelty, and systematic profligacy, while they laugh at their folly, in destroying that
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just gradation and necessary subordination, without which no State can ever exist, or acquire permanence or stability.

Apprehensions, however, have been entertained, by just minds and moderate men, of the ascendant or complete success of either party; that the Republicans might establish the extreme of licentiousness—the Monarchists the extreme of despotism; upon which extensive subject the limits of this Essay will admit of only one short observation.

It is a principle in mathematics, and the well-known law of projectiles, that a body impelled by two forces obeys neither altogether, but moves in the diagonal, or, in plainer terms, in a line between two extremes.

If a political metaphor may be derived from a mathematical principle, the public mind in France, to carry on the parody, at one time impelled by Republican principles, and soon after, the Councils of that nation being directed by the restorers of monarchy, the energy of the country may follow neither principle implicitly, but find a due mean and repose in a moderate, temperate, subordinate, and limited constitution.

In whatever manner, however, the termination of the present French anarchy is effected, it will be highly beneficial not only to themselves, but to surrounding nations. While every summer generates a system more monstrous than the preceding Government, (if such it can be called) while confusion becomes worse confounded, while
a mere

a mere principle of plunder pervades all its institutions, and animates the French Democracy, holding out such incitements to riot and disorder, with such plausible doctrines to the vulgar and ignorant, woe be to those States which border upon this destructive and pernicious power!

Nay, even to those who are removed from its immediate influence, the contagion may only be delayed for a short time, since principles like the French operate as the pestilence, acquire force by time and distance, and, like the torrent, widen the stream of their influence in proportion to their progress.

What portion of conquest may check the French malady and its influence of Europe, or in what manner the malady may be extinguished, far surpasses the conjectures of plain and ordinary men. If that part of Flanders which was wrested by the tyranny of Louis the XIVth from the House of Austria, should be restored to the Emperor, if Roussillon should be given back to Spain, and Savoy re-instated in her ancient limits, perhaps those cessions might serve as ramparts to the rest of Europe, and draw lines on the frontiers of those States against the pestilence.

The argument, or rather declaration, that might be used on that occasion, is, that England would waste her blood and treasure on these conquests, solely for the aggrandizement of other States; but it should be remembered that the States in question might, and ought to indemnify her, by advantageous commercial alliances; that
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the present *crisis* affords opportunities of making commercial arrangements with Spain, more advantageous than any since our first Treaty of Commerce with her in 1667; and a Treaty with the House of Austria, relative to our trade in Flanders, similar to that which was in contemplation, and ought to have taken place soon after the Treaty of Utrecht.

But, after all, these are but remote conjectures, and uncertain speculations upon the objects of the war, its tendency and termination: one, and only one apology, can be made for them, by the writer of these Essays, founded on the strictest truth, which will hereafter bear the test of inquiry, and the severest examination, namely, that they proceed from one who has ever been animated by a regard for public welfare and the sincerest wishes for the prosperity of his country.

The three following Essays on the French Theatre were written in the months of October and November, 1788; as they are preparatory to Nos. 37 and 38, on the same subject, it is presumed that the insertion of them in this place will not be deemed improper.

No. 34. THURSDAY, October 9, 1788.

Tota natio, comœdia est.

JOURNAL.

THE French Theatre at Paris is insulated; there is a passage wide enough for three carriages round it: it resembles the Temple of Concord in Stow-Gardens; and a beautiful portico, supported by Corinthian pillars, surrounds it. The number of tickets commensurate to the extent of the theatre are limited to 2300, as is reported. When this number is exhausted, no person is allowed to enter; and there is an interdiction at the office, which is placed at the outside of the building, so that the passages are never crowded by idlers and box-lobby loungers. There are about ten convenient *entrees* under the portico—by these means, there are no inconveniences from a greater number than the house will commodiously contain.

The

The theatre itself is semicircular; the boxes and galleries are not supported by pillars, but projected from the wall; the compartments in the boxes, or galleries, hold only six persons, two and two behind each other; the seats are wide, and so elevated, that no obstruction arises from the modern miracle which the ladies have effected, "by taking thought to add a cubit to their stature." Below the boxes, which are considerably raised, is an amphitheatre, which answers to our galleries, of two rows; the *parterre*, or pit, is quite level; of this three rows are railed off next the orchestra, and the seats are at box prices, for the accommodation of gentlemen. The stage is so much elevated, that no inconvenience ensues from the lower part of the house being on a level.

It is difficult to say which part of the house is best for hearing and seeing, inasmuch that people of fashion generally occupy the second or third row of boxes, which space, in our theatres, is occupied by the middle and upper galleries.

The theatre is lighted by *one* immense central branch, suspended near the ceiling by a very ingenious copper rope, and the light is reflected from a mirror of French plate, or *reverbere*, as it is called, the use of which seems not to be generally known in this country.

Livery servants are not allowed to keep places in the boxes; some of them are hired annually, others taken for the night by a lady or gentleman, who pay the whole price before-

hand, and receive only *one* ticket for each box. This circumstance is somewhat odd, and I fear it will be difficult to be explained.

This single ticket is divided into six compartments, which are marked thus: Box 1, No. 1, No. 2, and so on. The lady to whom the box belongs cuts the paper into the different tickets, which admit the bearers into the appropriated box: by these means, the spectators are fixed for the night; and they do not fidget about from the back rows, from one box to another, as in our theatres, and continually interrupt the performance; and all impertinent noise is hushed and quelled by the audience.

The lobbies, corridors, and stairs, are either of stone or brick, girded with wood, which prevents noise. The two former are warmed with stoves.

There is no theatrical Manager: all is under the direction of some officer, appointed by the Court. The profits are divided amongst the players, in certain proportions. These are some of the regulations which were so much approved by the Manager of the Dublin theatre, the late Mr. Sheridan.

The French theatre, like our own, is much declined of late years. *Molié* and *Mademoiselle Contades* are, it is true, superior to any thing we possess in the line of genteel comedy: but *La-Rive*, who came the nearest to our admirable Siddons, is lately retired, and *Préville*, the Garrick

rick of French comedy, also. The exquisite and inimitable *Country Girl* appears without a rival, or a parallel, at home or abroad.

A very judicious hint appeared in a Morning Print, proposing Marmontel's Tales as subjects and plots to our playwrights; but simple translation from the French theatre would certainly succeed upon our stages—witness the *Wanton Wife*, translated by that great actor, Mr. Betterton, from Moliere's *George Dandin*; Garrick's *Guardian*, from *La Pupille* of Destouches; the *Distress'd Mother*, from *Racine*, and Hill's *Zara*, which are all literal translations; and that best of our modern comedies, Burgoyne's *HEIRESS*, which is certainly written upon a French model, though it does not derogate from the delight that every man of taste receives from the representation of that charming original, and most admirable comedy.

The theatre forms a most rational delight to every enlightened country; under proper regulations, it is one of the best schools for elegance, perhaps even for virtue and morality, though prevailing taste for private plays will, it is to be hoped, give a gracefulness and manner to our public speakers, the want of which is so obvious, and so much to be lamented.

Certain it is, that the Nobleman whose name appears foremost at Richmond House, has an excellent delivery, and a pleasing manner of speaking; nor would candour, which will not vulgarly

deny merit to any man, because he happens to be a Lord, stop here; but if Lord Derby thought proper to exert himself again with the same industry and information that he displayed in his prompt replies to the formidable President of a great assembly, upon the affairs of Ireland, it would certainly place him in the first class of public speakers.

For my own part, I never gain admittance through the favour of the gallery door-keepers, my old friends, Pierſon and Baker, into the House of Commons, that I do not think of the remark of a French traveller, who ſaw the great formal rival orators ſpeak, without underſtanding the language, when Lord North and Mr. Fox were oppoſed on the ſubject of the American war; that they appeared, while the clerks boxes reſounded with repeated ſtrokes of eloquence, likè intellectual prize-fighters, and, from the uniform extenſion of their right arm and right leg, he imagined they had been fencing againſt each other acroſs the table.

No. 35. SATURDAY, October 25, 1788.

Tota natio, comœdia est.

JUVENAL.

MY hasty sketch of the French Theatre having met with a more favourable reception than I expected, has induced me to trouble you with a few supplementary remarks.

Spectators are admitted into the French theatre at Paris, by either, taking single tickets at the exterior office, or by those taken at an office for whole boxes, which is open from eight to ten in the morning: these are checked at an office in the lobby—the first by countermarks, the latter by taking a piece off the corner, and both are received by the box-keepers, who open the boxes.

Thus the receipt of the theatre is trebly checked, and the audience is benefited by it at the same time.

The central branch, which illuminates the whole theatre, does not intercept the view in the upper part of the house, for it is lighted with *argants*, or, as we call them, patent lamps, which consume the smoke, and are close to the *reverbere*, or mirror of French plate, which is attached to the cieling.

These

These *reverberes* are used in the common lamps in Paris, and produce a vast effect. The lamps, which are suspended 20 feet high, in the middle of the streets of Paris, are upwards of 200 feet asunder—a space which, in London, would demand a vast quantity of our expensive glow-worms. Paris is not so magnificently lighted as London; but it is certain that a letter can be read in a coach in the middle of the streets in Paris, which is not the case in London. The front of the French stage is lighted in a very glaring and offensive manner, which the performers complain of much. The patent lamps are only pleasing, when placed above the level of the eye—otherwise they are very disagreeable to the sight, and become, in Milton's phrase, "dark from excessive light."

The principal difference between the French theatre and ours is this—that that part of the audience which occupy our second and third galleries are seated in the pit, or *parterre*, in the French theatres; nor have they a noisy and turbulent upper gallery, to interrupt the performers. The late Mr. Sheridan was so sensible of this advantage, that he contrived to get rid of the upper gallery in a very whimsical manner. It was elegantly fitted up and divided into boxes, at pit prices. This regulation obtained in Dublin for a winter, in 1754-5, but afterwards the mobility got possession of their old habitation, and enjoy the satisfaction of making more noise there than is heard in any other theatre.

The

The coaches are rigorously compelled to go one way; and if a carriage of a Prince of the blood should be announced, and he should not be ready, it would be ordered to drive round, and come after all the rest, in its due rotation.

Such regulations as these may seem too rigorous for a free country; but miserable must their notions be, who can suppose that an atom of English freedom would be lessened by preventing some drunken savages from making a noise in the upper gallery, or prohibiting coachmen from destroying their horses and carriages, by driving point blank against one another, at the entrance of our theatres.

The French actors generally enter and retire from the back of the stage; and whenever the scene represents a room, there is a door in the back scene. This, at first, appears formal, but if the stage is a representation of life, it is surely more consonant to reality, since there are no lateral apertures in domestic architecture or in common rooms, like those formed by the side scenes.

In tragedies, they generally fall upon sofas, and in combats, ^{the vanquished} retreats and falls often between the side scenes; and in general all theatrical butcheries are avoided, or the horrors much lessened; and Horace's rule, that Medea should not destroy her children before the audience, is rigidly observed.

Women are never travestied into men on the French stage—though they may appear disguised as men, in the course of a female part. Wo-
men

men certainly never appear to advantage as men—a beautiful female degenerates into a male dwarf. Strength of body and of feature constitute comeliness in a man—nothing can be more disgusting and nauseous to a British audience, than the cargo of insignificance, contained under the figure of an effeminate spark, or a pretty man. These performances may please for once, like juggler's tricks, because it is proved that they can be performed. Mrs. Woffington's success in Wildair has entailed the character in a female line; but assuredly the admired actress who has gained that applause in male representation, would gain still greater admiration by the extension of her powers in such characters as Beatrice, Belinda, Portia, Mrs. Sullen, Maria, in the Citizen, Harriet, in the Guardian, and Letitia, in the Belle's Stratagem.

From these regulations there is no necessity for livery-servants to keep places—probably from their admission, some former inconvenience has been much felt; for at the end of all French play-bills there is this order—“*La livrée n'entre point même en payant*—Livery-servants are not admitted, though they should pay for their admission.”

The roof of the French theatre is constructed in a very curious manner; the loft, which is formed by the planks which constitute the ceiling, is covered with leather hides, accurately nailed, and closely compacted: the reason given for this odd contrivance is to prevent the evaporation

poration of the voice through the crevices; whether it be owing to this, or to the form of the building, the voice is certainly more audible in this theatre, though much larger, than in any of our play-houses in London.

Half price is not received in the French theatre, nor is any money returned; such of the audience as may come late are accommodated by representing the farce before the play; but this is only the case (it is supposed) upon the representation of a comedy. The French plays begin always, even when the Royal Family come, at half past five, and end a little after eight; there is an appropriated box for them, which is never fitted up for the occasion: the King seldom comes, but the Queen often comes after the commencement of the play.

The corridors which surround the galleries are floored with brick, and so narrow that no persons can assemble there: the room for retiring to, between the intervals of the play and farce, which is called the *Foyer*, is at the corner of the building, and far removed from the corridors.

Not only in Paris, but at Bourdeaux, there are theatres built upon this plan, and without pillars, like the *Comédie Française*.

Annexed to the rooms at the German Spa is a theatre upon this model, which, by means of an occasional platform over the pit, accommodates the company on ball-nights. In our watering-places there are generally two sets of rooms and a theatre, detached from each other, when one

building might answer every purpose of public entertainment. In this respect, our watering-places seem to have borrowed their ideas, not from our Continental, but from our Hibernian neighbours, where economy in public buildings is rejected, as unbecoming the arrangements of gentlemen, where expensive and fruitless projects are patronized, if they are sufficiently expensive; and where impracticability has its secret admirers, because it must necessarily be accompanied with idle waste, and fruitless expense.

Whether ours, or the model of the French theatre is best—whether there is such a thing as a standard for taste, I cannot decide—the forms of the Etruscan vases, and other particularities of the precious remnants of Rome, and of the Herculean discoveries, are to be traced at present in our common utensils, in the ornaments of our houses, and possibly in some dispositions of our public buildings; and probably they will receive no further improvement. The French theatre certainly has derived, in its construction, many advantages from the shape of the modern and ancient theatres in Italy, and more particularly from the *Maison Quarrée*, and the superb Roman amphitheatre, which has lately been cleared by the Archbishop of Narbonne, at the desire and expense of the French King, at Nîmes, in Languedoc.

No. 36. FRIDAY, *November 14, 1788.*

Tota patio, comœdia est.

JUVENAL.

THE French Theatre is so copious a subject, that it is not easy to limit speculations, or to quit criticisms upon their drama; and I am tempted to intrude once more upon an indulgent public, by a few more observations.

An insulated theatre, a limited number of tickets, and of spectators commensurate to its size, construction rendering all parts of it equally eligible for hearing and seeing, prevention of noise, by stone and brick staircases and lobby and corridore floors, of admission of livery servants by tickets appropriated to each box, of obstructions to sight, by removal of pillars, by a light equally diffused, and by a central branch near the cieling, and far above the level of any of the spectators eyes, regulations of coaches advancing in one direction, in due rotation, and placing the lower class of spectators in the pit, where noise and riot may be easily observed, and therefore easily checked and obviated—upon these dispositions I have expatiated in my former letters, of the 9th and 24th of October: they must be acknowledged to be desirable in ours and in every other theatre.

The patent lamps which are so much used in public assemblies, in London and Paris, are judiciously placed, in the latter, above the level of the eye; for, when they meet our sight, the glare is intolerably offensive; and an eminent physician, of great learning and deservedly of the highest credit and estimation, is said to have pronounced these lamps to be very dangerous and destructive to the sight: those, therefore, who are interested in their sale, should obviate pernicious consequences, which may, at a future day, give universal discredit to that invention, by elevating them far above the level of our eyes, and thereby imitate nature, and the all-wise dispositions of the Divine Architect, who has placed the great lamp which illuminates our planetary system far above us, and never suffers it to appear upon a level with our eyes, unless its rays are softened by the mists and exhalations of the morning and evening.

After Voltaire's tragedies, the most admired pieces upon the French stage are, *Innes de Castro*, *Gaston & Bayard* of *Belloy*, and *Wenceslas*; most of the former are already translated, and justly admired upon our stage: his *Tancred*, and his *Orphan of China* differ materially from ours; and I cannot help preferring them to the tragedies of the same name of Thomson and Murphy. *Gaston* and *Bayard* is their most favourite tragedy, founded upon the story of the *Duke of Nemours*, who fell, aged 22, at the battle of Ravenna, with the character of the first conqueror

queror and General of his age, and of Bayard, so renowned in the annals of chivalry. *Wenceslas* is founded upon the story of the Emperor, who was prevailed upon to pardon his son for a murder, but voluntarily resigned the crown, which he conceived himself unworthy to wear after this act of partiality. Both of these, it is conceived, would have great success, if properly adapted to the English stage, as well as most of Belloy's pieces.

General battles are seldom or never introduced on the French stage, though they are very fond of representation of the legal duels of the feudal times, which admit of theatrical representation—nor is the fancy strained to suppose great hosts and armies deciding a battle in a moderate sized room—a representation which often gives a ridiculous turn to the conclusion of some of our best tragedies.

From the favourite tragedy above-mentioned has lately sprung a comedy, *Les Amours de Bayard*. This is pleasing, from a strict representation of ancient manners. After this, the most favourite comedies are—*Le Dissipateur*, the Prodigal; *Le Somnambule*, or the Sleep-walker; *Le Grondeur*, or the Scold; *L'Aveugle Clairvoyant*, or the Blind Man, who is whimsically supposed to see clearly; *La Coquette Corrigée*, the Corrected Coquette, a most charming comedy; *Le Fou Raisnable*, the Reasonable Fool, an admirable farce, ridiculing our countrymen for what the French call their *Anglicisms*, or, in plainer terms,

terms, for suicide. All these, it is conceived, would have, if properly translated, the greatest success upon our stage.

The applause of the French theatre is more sanguine than ours—if a new play is condemned, it is rather by withholding of plaudits, than by a noisy condemnation, or by broken interrupted clapping of hands, which may not unaptly be called an ironical applause. A very pleasing ceremonial I have often seen with great pleasure, upon the approbation of a new piece: the audience call for the author, who is introduced at the back of the stage, between two capital actors, to receive a public testimony in person of their approbation; and I have seen Mr. *Ducis*, who had translated *King Lear*, receive this pleasing reward of his labours.

Doubling is the general practice of the French stage. This term is so well known from *Burgoyne's Heiress*, that it needs no farther explanation. Each favourite play has two sets of Actors. With us, a favourite part is monopolized during the life of a favourite actor; and yet it was by the transgression of this rule that *Cibber* rose from the Chaplain in the *Orphan*, to the first eminence in comedy and tragedy; and that *Quin*, who also rose from inferior representation, performed that part in the life of *Booth*, the original *Cato*, when he was hailed by the audience with—"Booth out-done!"

The representations at *Versailles* and *Fontainebleau* may render this necessary in France, as
our

our formal theatrical representations at Whitehall, and in later times, at Hampton Court, might have necessitated the same custom here. The last of these courtly exhibitions, according to Cibber, was at Hampton Court, when the late Emperor was in England—just before he quitted the stage in 1733—as the representation of *Cato*, in 1712, was the last theatrical exhibition in that master-piece of Sir Christopher Wren's, the Theatre at Oxford.

The stage in the French theatre projects in the form of a segment of a circle, which gives great advantage to representation. According to Cibber, this was the form of Drury Lane, as it was planned by Sir Christopher Wren, in the last century; and he blames the Managers much for altering the original form, to add a trifle to the receipts. From the limits of that theatre, as the boxes were bounded formerly by the interior row of pillars, Drury Lane must have undergone many changes, and more particularly as Cibber mentions that, during his management, a report of the dangerous state of that building had thinned their audiences, and that they were obliged to satisfy the public by an inspection and testimony from the Board of Works.

A great inconvenience results from heat in the French play-house, from the closeness of the roof, and it is not uncommon for the pit to call out to open the box doors. Possibly this inconvenience might be remedied by ventilators in the side walls of that building.

A great

A great decorum prevails in all the French play-houses. I have seen the pit cry out when an Englishman kept his hat on in the side-boxes, which pleased me much, as I could never account for the absurd and impolite inconvenience which men must put themselves to by a warm incumbrance upon their heads in crowded assemblies; and the story is well known of a Frenchman asking an Englishman, who coughed loud, if the actresses upon the stage had displeased him. The Englishman, who happened luckily to be polite and well-bred, and not one of our country squires, replied, "No;" but that the truth was, that he was troubled with a very bad cold, and that if it was offensive to the audience, he should readily go out. This might be carrying the matter too far; but, after all, I cannot help wishing, with Cibber, that our countrymen, who are so fond of importing their tawdry garniture, would endeavour to bring back with them a portion of French theatrical politeness.

The receipt of the French theatre must be considerable—2300 tickets are the limited number which are issued. The first row of boxes and three rows of the pit are at our prices, six livres, or five shillings; the middle boxes, which answer to our galleries, at four livres, or three shillings and four-pence; and the pit at two livres, or twenty-pence. As there are no passes from players, orders, freedoms of the theatre, silver tickets, or half price, it must surpass the receipt of any of our theatres.

The

The intervals between the acts of French plays are shorter than in ours; that between the play and farce is much longer—when the gentlemen usually retire to the *foyer*, a room at the corner of the building, elegantly fitted up with busts of the French dramatic authors—as the entrance is ornamented with a noble statue of Voltaire, by Houdon, a statuary sculptor, who is deservedly considered there as the first of his profession.

I have already mentioned that the glare from the lamps in the front of the French stage is much complained of. This is an inconvenience in our theatres; but it is conceived it could be very easily remedied, as a triple portion of light might be communicated from the side walls and side scenes to the stage, which would render it more luminous, without any inconvenience to the performers or spectators.

The removal of the inconveniences attendant upon our upper gallery must be considered as a great improvement in the French play-house. In Colley Cibber's life, after deriving this nuisance from a competition between the play-houses in Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane, when he came upon the stage, in King William's reign, he relates that the Manager of the latter, in order to ingratiate himself with their masters, opened an upper gallery for livery servants, gratis. "Before that time (says he) they had no admission; and this has generated a nuisance, which we Manager have had reason to lament as the scourge of our theatres."

The company of actors at the French theatre at Paris may be said to be under a Republican government. This has been explained before: how such a scheme would answer here, I cannot guess; but this much may be observed, that the stage was never in so flourishing a state as during that famous management of twenty years, from 1712 to 1732, under the triumvirate of Wilks, Booth, and Cibber.

A comparative view of this period of theatrical prosperity, with a state of its salaries and profits at a subsequent period, has lately appeared in your Paper, and it is supposed to have been furnished by an admired theatrical Nestor, who might gratify that public whose favourite he has so long and so justly been, with a history of our stage from that period when Cibber took his leave of it.

I quit theatrical subjects with regret; the police of the stage, in which the French excel so much, may deserve some regard another day: these regulations are not unworthy of the wisest men, or of the most enlightened countries, whatever Collier or the Puritans may have written heretofore against it. I have, with many others, received the most pleasing impressions of the dignity of human nature from the stage, and more particularly from the representations of our late incomparable Roscius, never too much to be lamented as a man by those who had the happiness of his acquaintance in the sphere of private life; nor, as an actor, by
that

that public who, I fear, " will never look upon his like again."

It is only within these last fifteen years that the French drama has been so well accommodated. The old French play-house was oblong and inconvenient in every respect; a plan of it remains, remarkable only for the representation of a ceremony performed before Voltaire's death, when his statue was crowned upon the stage in his presence; and when he was hailed by the audience as the great patron of the French drama.

Of the present theatre, I have never seen nor heard of any engraving or design: some of our eminent artists who may visit that capital, and who may gain the same applause that Strange has obtained by his engravings of those pictures at Versailles, which are said to have been bought by Cardinal Mazarin, from the Cabinet of Charles the First, when it was sold by Cromwell, would not lessen their reputation by favouring the public with plans of the elevations, sections, and dispositions of the French theatre at Paris.

No. 37. TUESDAY, *October-15*, 1793.

Transferendo huc, quod usque egregium fuerat.

TACITUS.

HAVING, in November, 1788, troubled you with three Essays upon Theatrical Arrangements at Paris, and those remarks being favourably received, I shall renew that subject, as the French have lately made great improvements in theatrical architecture.

The principal improvements which are common to all the Parisian theatres are, that they are insulated, and that the stage is wider than the audience part of the play-house.

The convenience of the *first* principle for commodious entries and *sorties* is too obvious to dwell upon; the *second* may require some explanation, as that arrangement is not to be found in any of our Theatres, and it involves the only prominent defect in Covent Garden.

The side scenes in the French theatre line with the back, and not the front benches of the side-boxes—the consequence of which is, that the end, or stage-boxes, are splayed off, and the spectators in them sit obliquely, instead of being flanked by a partition, as in our theatres, and intercepted in
their

their view of the representation ; whence they are obliged to stand up and lean forward, by which all the spectators in the side-boxes are incommoded.

Since the building of the National Theatre in 1777-8, the French have made a great improvement in a total separation of the audience part from the stage, the front of which projects as the segment of a circle ; but there are no boxes above or below, nor any side doors, as with us, on the stage.

When these latter are wanting, they are represented on the back scenes ; from whence, in all comedies, and generally in tragedies, the actors enter and retire.

Thus the illusion is rendered more complete, and the bustle of the actors being removed from the front, they have not only more room, but no noise is heard by the audience behind the scenes, which are shifted with more ease, and without the notice of a bell, which has so odd an effect in our theatres.

These last improvements are conspicuous in the new theatres of the *Rue Feydeau*, the theatre *de Moliere rue Bondi*, and in that of the *Palais Royal*.

The *parterre*, or pit, in all the French theatres, is level ; but the stage being more elevated than with us, the spectators see perfectly well. The boxes are so high, that the pit runs under them ; and, though they must be very dark in some of their

their play-houses, they have what they call *loges grillées*, or latticed boxes, underneath, on the same level, generally appropriated to ladies of a certain description.

The galleries, or boxes, in the French play-house, are generally thus managed—those at the lower tier, or range, hold six, two and two, and the upper ones only four, in the same form; the benches are raised higher above each other than with us; and the distance between each range of boxes, measured from the hinder foot-board, is barely six feet, by which they have one gallery more, at least, than in our theatres. Had the same proportion prevailed in Covent Garden, between them, an upper gallery might have been erected without raising the roof, as much room is evidently lost there, by the great spaces between the boxes and the galleries. But, as these remarks lead farther than I could wish, I shall reserve them for another letter, not wishing to occupy a large space in your valuable Paper.

No. 38. WEDNESDAY, *October 23, 1793.*

Tota Natio, Comœdia est.

JUVENAL.

AS remarks upon the late improvements in the Parisian theatres are not to be traced in any journals of travellers, in 1791 and 1792, during a part of which two years I was in Paris, I shall resume the subject of my letter of the 15th instant.

Probably the attention of travellers was then too much occupied with great political events in that unhappy country, to allow of any observations upon minuter concerns; but as the French, while they were civilized, before they degenerated into hords of savages, had many elegant accommodations worthy of notice and adoption, I have often had, in an humble line, the desire of the Roman Poet, to employ my leisure hours in describing those arts abroad, which might be useful to my native country, if I should survive those turbulent scenes; it being with me a favourite maxim that men best advance their own interest by promoting that of others, and consult their own ease and advantage, while they are labouring to facilitate and promote the accommodation of the public.

The

The great security of the French theatres from fire is peculiarly worthy of attention: all the corridors are flagged or tiled, and the stair-cases are stone, or brick, girded with wood: the corridors are all plastered, and even arched, in some of their play-houses.—Where it is necessary to fit them up soon, the walls are not wainscotted, as in our Opera House, but they cover them, for a season, with canvass, sail-cloth, or some temporary substitute.

Corridores thus constructed, are not only secure from fire, but prevent noise also; and they are generally warmed with stoves, which would be impracticable in our wainscotted theatres, which are hastily built upon the spur of the occasion.

In most of the French theatres, the first range of boxes is about nine feet from the ground, between them and the pit, there is a range, or gallery, of only two rows, without any divisions, at half the price of the boxes, called the Amphitheatre; and the price of the pit being so low as twenty-pence of our money, admits that class who, with us, are confined to an upper gallery, with more convenience to themselves and to the public, and with better accommodation.

The three last rows of the pit are reserved for critics, at box prices, and called the Parquets. There is no upper gallery, nor half price, in the French theatres; and all the rest of the building is divided into galleries, or ranges of boxes, some holding six, and others only four spectators,

spectators, at different prices, from two to five shillings of our money.

The division of the boxes into fixes and fours, instead of nine spectators, as with us, is very convenient. Ladies can take the whole boxes for their companies, and servants keeping places are rendered unnecessary, by tickets adapted and numbered for the box, called *conpons*, the use of which were explained in a former letter.

But as these arrangements might lead me beyond my usual bounds, I shall reserve my subsequent remarks for another letter.

Mean time, I cannot help remarking, that insulating our theatres, as at Paris, would be of more utility than at first sight appears, and of more extensive accommodation.—Thus, if Drury Lane theatre was insulated, and no houses left contiguous to it, half the distance between Covent Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields would be widened; and if the Opera House was insulated, a street would be formed parallel to Pall Mall; and the removal of a few houses only, at the end of Charles Street, and the opposite *Cul de Sac*, in King Street, a noble and direct avenue would be made from the middle of St. James's Street, through St. James's Square, to the Hay Market.

No. 39. FRIDAY, *October 25, 1793.*

Deliciæ solamenque mali.

VIRGIL.

BESIDES the precautions in the French Theatres against fire, by the substitution of stonework and plaster for wood, wherever they can be used, mentioned in my letter of the 22d of October, there is one arrangement which deserves peculiar attention.

In most of the French theatres there is a well under the stage, the only part which must necessarily be constructed of wood, which communicates with iron pumps, from whence water can be forced up to the top of the building; and also a body of firemen are kept in constant attendance, and paid for that purpose, who remain in the house till it is emptied, and take precautions against every combustible remnant.

The offices of receipt, in all the French playhouses, are at the outside, and all the departments are measured, that a sufficient number of tickets may be issued: when that number is exhausted, the visitors are informed, at the door, that there are no more tickets to be had, and consequently, that there are no places; in the French National Theatre, the number is limited to 2300.

These

These tickets are, however, checked in an office at the inside, with conpons, or permits for boxes, which are paid for beforehand; which checks are returned to the box-keeper who opens the door; this, and that nuisance of our theatres, half price, being unknown in Paris, prevents many of those riots and disturbances so common in our play-houses.

Great care is taken in the French theatres to guard the offices, to prevent all loiterers and pickpockets from crowding round them, and these seminaries of vice which are too often in the purlieus of our public places, which might be so easily prevented by the Police in peace, or by a press-gang in war.

The great room for the company to retire to, between the acts, in the French theatres, is always placed at one side, and at some distance from the boxes, and not in front, as is usual in our play-houses: the corridors round the boxes are freed from noise, from crowds, and obstructions.

The new octagon room in Covent Garden would correspond with this arrangement, if the narrow apartments in the front were shut up, and the interior passage was carried round the boxes, which is now obstructed in the center, as the center box holds twelve instead of nine, in the other boxes.

All the French theatres are lighted from the center, like Astley's Amphitheatre, most of the accommodations of which are taken from the

French plan; and though it is but an imperfect institution of their theatrical architecture, yet still the public find themselves better accommodated, and see and hear better than in any of our theatres.

Though the entrances into the French theatres are confined to one for each department, on account of the receipt, yet the *forties* are more numerous than with us, inasmuch that I recollect at the National Theatre, that there were upwards of ten doors opened at the end of the play, which was one of the numerous advantages resulting from its being insulated; but as this circumstance might lead me beyond my usual limits, I shall reserve my remarks for a conclusive letter upon the subject.

No. 40. TUESDAY, *October 29*, 1793.

Fas est, et ab hoste doceri.

OVID.

I shall resume the subject of my letter of the 25th of October, by remarks upon the order which, before the Revolution was established, and, till very lately, prevailed in the French theatres,

theatres, the obliging all carriages to come up in a certain direction, in rotation; and the prevention of coachmen driving point blank against each other—a nuisance too common in our theatres.

It is true that, most of their theatres being insulated, enabled them to accomplish these arrangements with uniform effect; but I cannot help thinking, that if the well-known Road Laws were extended to keep to the left—in plainer terms, if coachmen were obliged to take up and set down universally, at public places, with the door of the house on the whip hand, many of the embarrassments at our theatres, &c. would be avoided; nor would any other inconveniences arise to them or their masters, than a trifling circuit, and being sometimes obliged to turn about, in narrow streets.

The ornaments of the French theatres are much cheaper than with us, though certainly more elegant. This cheapness is caused by the paper manufacture, established about twelve or fifteen years ago, by two Englishmen, Messrs. Arthur and Roberts, on the Boulevards, by which every species of architectural order and ornament, freizes, cornices, &c. and every kind of marble, are represented in the most perfect manner, to appearance, at least, on paper, which saves nine parts in ten of the expenses: in a word, by a manufacture of whose perfection and varnish we have scarcely an idea in this country.

Amongst

Amongst other public and private buildings, the following theatres at Paris are most indebted to this elegant manufacture.

The ornaments of the theatre, which was last built by the celebrated Beaumarchais, the author of the *Barbier de Seville*, of *Figaro*, &c. &c. in the *Rue Marais*, at one extremity of Paris, are of grey marble; the internal architecture is Gothic; the pillars are of that order, and every part of the inside. This play-house has been much criticised, but certainly it is a very elegant structure.

The theatre of Moliere, in the *Rue Bondi*, is of yellow or Sienna marble; the boxes are ornamented with mirrors, or looking-glasses. The shape, disposition, and arrangements of this theatre, have been deservedly admired.

In the theatre of the *Rue Louvois*, lately built, grey marble predominates; and a gilded ballustrade on paper, which surrounds the galleries, creates much lightness and elegance.

But the theatre in the *Rue Feydeau* is most admired; it was built only four years ago: here the marble is *Verd d' Antique*; the pillars are Corinthian, and of Porphyry; and the upper do not overhang, but are behind the lower range of boxes, so that there is no projection over the latter, and this has a very happy and elegant effect.

You will smile, perhaps, at this display of marbles, of taste and elegance in the French theatres; but since appearances are the objects
in

in question, in this species of architecture, they answer as well in paper representation as those of the most solid, expensive, and durable materials.

Instead of a curtain, an elegant, emblematical scene is usually substituted in the French play-houses: the green curtain in our theatre, they call, with some pleasantry, perhaps truth, a *Drap Mortuaire*, such as is used in state funerals.

Upon the whole, since the French have spared no pains in the construction of their theatres, and are as far beyond us in theatrical accommodation, as we excel them in almost every thing else, their arrangements may not be unworthy of our attention.

Perhaps you may think me too minute, and that I have dwelt too long upon some of their arrangements: two principles, however, of theatrical architecture deserve, at least, to be exempted from this description, namely, the insular construction, and the width of the stage beyond the audience part of their theatres.

Some of the rules of the French theatres were transcribed in a pamphlet many years ago, by the late Mr. Sheridan, and recommended by him for the establishment of a play-house in Dublin, which he thought would give it a superiority even over those of this capital.

I remember also to have heard the celebrated comedian, Mr. *Preville*, relate, that when Mr. Garrick visited Paris in 1764-5, he had often
heard

heard him express a wish that he could introduce and establish some of their rules and arrangements in the London theatres.

No. 41. THURSDAY, October 31, 1793.

Sua mathesi faciem preferente.

NEWTON.

Though the following Essay was written upon an abstract question, that had no relation to the politics of the day, yet it contains some very curious materials, and is preserved here, as it may be of public utility.

WITH whatever pains and labours the investigation may be attended, the discovery of truth is most delightful. To ingenuous minds, perhaps, the most beautiful metaphor in poetry is not accompanied with more satisfaction than a mathematical conclusion, founded in perfect truth, though won with the greatest labour, and acquired with the most painful investigation.

Thus we are told, that the ancient Sage, when he had discovered that famous proposition in Euclid, upon which the measuring of all distances

rances depends, exclaimed, with rapture, that he had found what he looked for, at last; that truth was great; the daughter of Time; but that it must ultimately prevail.

Of all the sciences, therefore, mathematics must be the most pleasing, since in them truth appears in its most genuine purity:—a science which may be applied to, and improved, by the most ordinary occurrences in life; inso-much, that we are told, that the great philosopher fell into contemplation upon the system of attraction, from the accidental fall of a leaf in his garden; and he is said to have taken a hint, in his investigation of the properties of lights and colours, from certain hues and appearances upon soap bubbles which were the play and amusement of children.

In the refutation of errors, how much do we owe to mathematical learning! I forget now where I met the remark, in a course of miscellaneous reading, but the observation seems to me to be just, that that superstition, the belief in ghosts and apparitions, with which some of the first characters of the last age were stained, in common with our great grand-mothers and their nurses, was completely done away by the discovery of the true properties of light and colours—by the doctrine, that colours can be reflected only from bodies, and from certain qualities in them, to transmit different rays of light to the human eye, in certain angles; from whence it followed, that the appearance of an unsubstantial form

was a mere chimera, and a mathematical impossibility.

I was led into this train of reflections by some articles in your valuable Paper, relative to carriages, and the advantages of different modes of construction, which produced the following observations, in which I have laboured to reduce some ordinary matters to mathematical precision and certainty.

These remarks are at your service, if you should think that I am clear and easily understood. Aware of the difficulty of the subject, I enter into it with doubt; but if not, if I am not accurate and plain, you will consign my remarks to oblivion, with those of other unsuccessful projectors.

A very curious and useful discovery has lately been made—that a carriage, drawn in a strait line, or one, where the traces form an angle of twenty-five degrees with the ground, is as three to four; that it has a fourth part of the power or advantage—in plainer terms, that three horses, harnessed in the latter manner, will do the work of four, drawing in a strait line.

Of the proof, or experiment, which I have seen actually made, I shall risk the following description—I say risk, because nothing is more difficult, than to give a clear account of such experiments, without the aid of a diagram.

If a model of a waggon should be set upon a plane, or a board placed obliquely, with a ledge in the middle of it; and tied to a string, passing

in a direct line, through a wheel or pulley, at one extremity of the board, and the model of such a weight, as to be balanced by twenty-eight ounces, hooked on at the end of the cord—in this case, the addition of only one ounce, or even less, will serve to draw it over the ledge.

But if the string is hooked to the model of the waggon, so low as to form an angle of twenty-five degrees with the plane or board, in this latter case, twenty-one ounces will suffice to draw it over the ledge.

To facilitate this experiment, it is necessary that the ounce weights should be so contrived that each may be hooked on singly to the string.

Taking it for granted that this proposition is proved, it may be concluded, from this experiment, that three horses, whose traces are placed obliquely, will do the same work, and draw as great a weight, as four horses drawing in a direct line; from whence the following inferences may be deduced:

That the nearer the horses are to the draft, and the more the number of them that can be made to draw abreast, the greater will be the advantage, by one fourth-part of the purchase; and farther, it may be laid down as a general rule, that all the horses in a team should, if possible, draw from the same transom, or point of draft; because every degree of obliquity is an advantage in the draft.

Hence the absurdity is evident of drawing with four or five horses in a line, and from the shaft ends, as in the London coal waggons: which can only be advantageous in very deep, bad roads, where one horse may be upon dry ground, while the rest are struggling in the mire.

And here it may not be amiss to strengthen theory by experience, and to notice that the French, aware of this advantage, use three horses abreast in chaises, on their post roads, which would be, perhaps, the most advantageous number, and the best mode of draft for waggons also; and that their artillery, under Dumourier's command, was mounted upon carriages to which six, or more, horses might be harnessed abreast, in the level country and broad roads of Flanders.

I might carry my remarks still farther—to the improvement of our roads, by a general broad-wheel act, or by lengthening the fore axle-trees, either two or nine inches, as the case may require, beyond the hinder axle-trees, by which the wheels would roll on double surfaces.

I think I could prove, that the substitution of waggons for carts universally, would prevent a great consumption of horses, and be most advantageous; and that these improvements would save one half, at least, of the repairs of turnpikes, and give us the best high and cross roads in Europe, were I not afraid that I might be thought to lay down rules and anticipate measures which may soon engage the attention of the Legislature.

All

All that I should now wish to dwell upon is this—that drawing with horses harnessed obliquely, and abreast, as far as is practicable, would save a fourth part of the draft horses now used in this country.

And further, to prove by this familiar application, the utility of mathematical proofs and experiments, since the most ordinary transactions in life, namely, that of the draft and mode of harnessing horses, are thus capable of being brought to a standard of perfection, and reduced to a mathematical precision and certainty.

FINIS.

